California Journal

The Monthly Analysis of State Government and Politics

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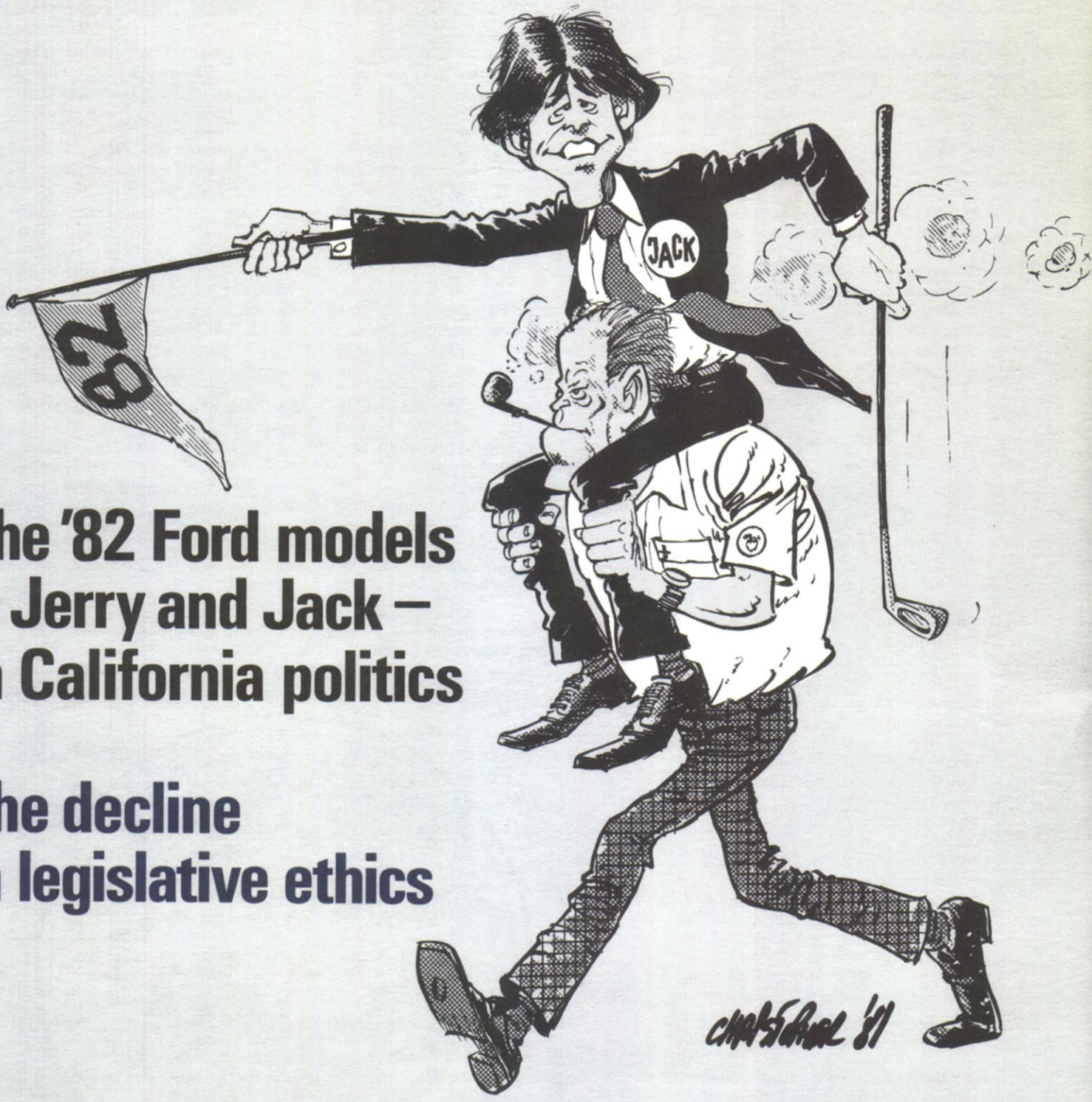

The '82 Ford models – Jerry and Jack – in California politics

The decline in legislative ethics

SPECIAL SECTION
Reapportionment 1981

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Wit and wisdom from the mouth of former Assemblyman Bill Bagley of Marin County: Lawmakers of inferior intelligence but who work to maximum capacity deserve more credit than those of superior intellect who prefer not to tax themselves.

At Jerry Brown's Los Angeles restaurant hangout, Lucy's El Adobe, there is no doubt who is favored to succeed the governor. The proprietors have been handing out these buttons to customers:

Why was John Briggs the only member of the so-called Richardson Study Group spared by Democrats in Senate reapportionment? Two explanations: Democratic boss David Roberti has a kind spot in his heart for Briggs, and it was difficult to damage Briggs without putting him into the same district with Republican leader Bill Campbell, who would prefer not to tangle with Briggs in a primary showdown.

Incidentally, here is the Democratic plan should the Republicans succeed in dumping the current redistricting plans via referendum. The Democrats would pass new redistricting bills and call for a special election for primary voting in the new districts. Bills calling special elections are not subject to referendum. The lawyers are at work already researching the legality of a referendum covering only a part of a bill (district lines).

Here's one for those academic experts who specialize in studying the interaction between politicians and the media: Assemblywoman Jean Moorhead of Sacramento and ABC television political reporter Leo McElroy of Los Angeles may be married by the time this appears in print.

The state requires that all private guards obtain licenses, but they are able to carry guns and perform rent-a-cop duties while their applications are being processed. It turns out that about one of every five applicants has the kind of criminal record that results in a rejection.

Establishment Republicans are afraid that Congressman Bob Dornan will break out of the pack to win the United States Senate primary. Dornan is the kind of show-biz personality who might be successful with a statewide TV audience. He is also the kind of maverick conservative with few friends among party regulars.

Those looking for the old *Journal* offices on 10th Street in Sacramento were in for quite a surprise. The buildings were torn down in late September, and a colorful tent was placed on the site temporarily by the developers of a new housing project. The new *Journal* office is at 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento.

For the record: The folks attempting to recall Chief Justice Rose Bird have been quoting some *Journal* statistics to bolster their case. They say that a *Journal* study showed that Bird voted with criminals against the public 90 percent of the time. What Bird's critics fail to add is that the 90 percent figure applied only to cases in which there were two or three dissents and did not include unanimous or single-dissenter cases.

Sacramento political consultant Jonathan Lewis took some picture postcards of the Capitol in Sacramento to France and sent friends this message: "As you can see, Paris is filled with beautiful sites. This monument, restored at great expense, symbolizes Sartre's geo-political views pre-1732, the year of the French *creme de caramel.*"

California's fiscal condition — as viewed by Steve Greenberg of the (San Fernando Valley) *Daily News*.

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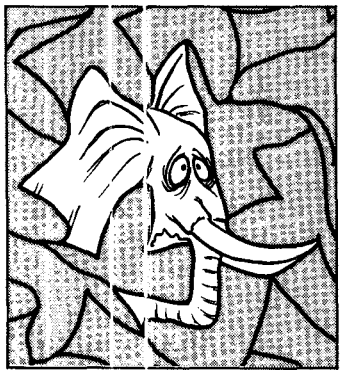
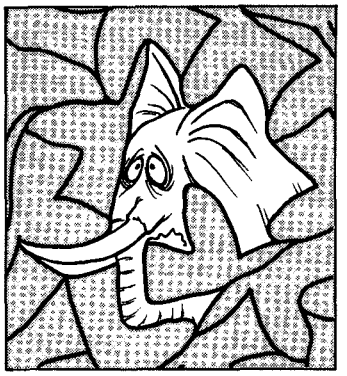


Special section, Reapportionment 1981

"Old-fashioned hardball politics" — that's what Journal *editor Ed Salzman calls the reapportionment battle now under way in California. In this special section, the Democrats' redistricting plan is analyzed in partisan, constitutional and geographic terms. Also included are specially commissioned maps of the proposed Senate, Assembly and Congressional district lines. Finally, a district-by-district election outlook for the '80s is provided. (This 16-page pull-out section is available in separate reprints; instructions for ordering are inside.)*



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Unlike their newly restored Capitol building, some legislators are suffering from tarnished images and sagging ethical standards. A veteran reporter assesses the conflicts of interest that made 1981 a bad year for political integrity.

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Volume XII, Number 11 **November 1981**

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Personal
PERSPECTIVE

By Ed Salzman

The gadfly Medfly

With hardly any searching, most Californians can find at least a few valid reasons for criticizing Governor Jerry Brown. But one of them should not be his handling of the Medfly crisis — or at least the charge that Brown blew it by not ordering aerial spraying at the first sign of an infestation.

It probably would have been easy for Brown to have ordered the helicopters to bombard the Santa Clara Valley upon the discovery of the first fly. For once, there may have been sound reasons for him to procrastinate:

- There was a substantial body of medical opinion advising the state that there might be grave consequences from massive spraying of malathion. Experts warned that the chemical may produce nerve-system damage, mutations, birth defects and cancer. On the other hand, the governor was also told that the pesticide is safe, especially when applied in combination with other material as a bait. Until pressure became too great, Brown erred on the side of human safety.
- Local officials in Santa Clara County were overwhelmingly in favor of the more conservative policy of tree stripping and ground-level spraying, which was the preferred policy of the Brown Administration. Couldn't Brown have been attacked had he gone against the wishes of local officials?

The farmers of California are extraordinarily talented in creating a mood of hysteria whenever their economic interests are threatened. Brown undoubtedly underestimated the public-relations abilities of the growers. In any event, he was ineffective in countering the attacks upon him. He was even being blamed for the state's failure to control the fly through biological means. Was Brown to blame because a batch of supposedly sterile flies from Peru turned out to be fertile? Can Brown be blamed because some Californians refused to cooperate with the quarantine rules and apparently took infested produce outside the Santa Clara area? Can Brown be blamed because fertile flies were found in Los Angeles County after the aerial spraying program was well under way?

No mortal — even Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles, who said he would have started the helicopters earlier had he been governor — could have known when to launch the malathion downpour. It may be years before we know whether the chemical is toxic and how harmful it is. The big question remains: In obliterating the Medfly, did the state condemn unknown numbers of Californians to lives of medical misery?

The state's farmers grasped the Medfly as a weapon that could be used to deliver the political knockout punch to arch-enemy Jerry Brown. They even went so far, with Assembly Republican leader and pesticide champion Carol Hallett in the lead, to suggest that Brown ought to be removed from office through the impeachment process. The presumed charge: exercising excessive caution on behalf of the health of Californians at the expense of farmers.

If the defunct *Washington Star* were a farm, it undoubtedly would be alive and profitable today. The newspaper would be using ink subsidized by taxpayers, receiving protection against aggressive competition through marketing orders, obtaining financial assistance from the government whenever unforeseen hardships develop, receiving special exemptions from national labor laws, and blaming all of its troubles on elected officials.

ROSTRUM

Short letters from subscribers are encouraged.

Logs in the wilderness

Tucked away in the corner of the article, "California's Economic Future" (September 1981), my eyes riveted on the sentence: "The amount of federal timber is unknown due to possible expansions of wilderness areas." I was shocked to find this all-too-familiar myth cited as fact.

Wilderness is not "expanding!" It is shrinking. Ninety percent of our national forest timberland is committed to logging. The remaining 10 percent is "wilderness." Some is congressionally designated wilderness, while the rest is simply *de facto* wilderness. Every year these undesignated wilderness areas are eaten into by roads and logging as more and more of the national forests are opened to logging. Any new California wilderness bill will in effect decrease the size of our wilderness areas by protecting only some of those areas definable as wilderness and opening all others to logging.

Clearly the future of California's timber industry does not hinge on the issue of wilderness. If the industry is looking to these areas for its salvation, it will surely be disappointed. Wilderness may be a handy scapegoat for industry woes, but it cannot be its salvation.

ELLEN DRELL
Trinity Wilderness Coalition
Willits

Tough on crime

As a conservative, tough-on-crime legislator, I was shocked when I read in the September 1981 issue of the *California Journal* that I was characterized as a "friend" of the liberal coalition fighting tough-on-crime bills . . .

I ran last year with the full support of Senator H. L. Richardson's Law and Order Committee. This year I have voted for every tough law-and-order bill. The liberal coalition has opposed all three of my bills on law and order. I have co-authored a series of tough law-and-order bills. I'm a co-sponsor of Paul Gann's Victim's Bill of Rights initiative.

I hope I offered enough proof that I'm not a friend of the criminals' lobby, but, rather, I'm a friend of the victim's lobby fighting the ACLU and their kind!

ERNEST L. KONNYU
Assemblyman

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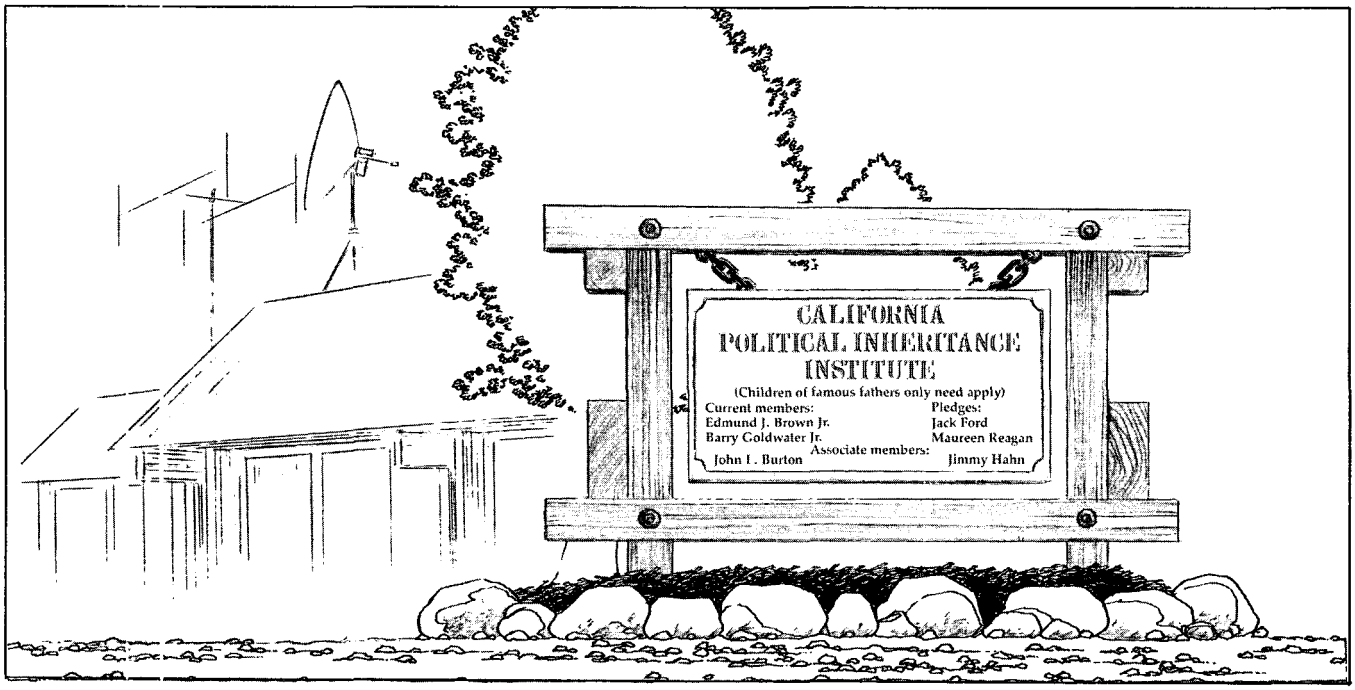
'I WANT JACK TO BE A CANDIDATE ON HIS OWN . . .
I'LL DO ANYTHING HE WANTS ME TO'
— Gerald R. Ford

Is there a Ford in California's political future?



By DONALD H. HARRISON

Those Fords of California — Jerry, Betty, Jack and Steve — are mixing deeper and deeper into diverse political controversies. The issues involve California "kingmaking," ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant and whether Jack's first political office should be that of California state controller.

A family that rarely lacks opinions, the Fords have become outspoken partisans on each of these questions, disagreeing with each other on issues like ERA and Diablo Canyon but united in their determination to see Jack become the next state controller. They are similarly united in support of former President Gerald R. Ford's new, active role in the state in which he and Betty became registered voters on October 4th, 1978.

The former president became embroiled in controversy in August when he joined a group of Republican party financiers, many of them "kitchen cabinet" advisers to his former arch-rival Ronald Reagan. The group interviewed potential Republican candidates for the United States Senate seat now held by Republican Senator S. I. Hayakawa. At one meeting they interviewed Congressman Pete McCloskey and San Diego Mayor Pete Wilson; at another, Maureen Reagan and Congressman Barry Goldwater Jr.

Hayakawa's aide, Sandy Conlan, subsequently quoted the senator as saying that he was "surprised" that the former president would take part in "inappropriate" screening sessions. She said that Hayakawa was not invited to the sessions, organized by state Republican finance chairman David Murdock, "but based on the fact that they were looking for another candidate, he wouldn't be invited."

Of his role in the meetings, Ford says: "I was there as an invited guest to listen to the various candidates who were asking for support in the Republican primary. Under no circumstances would you categorize that as a kingmaking effort, because there was no agreement among people there that they would eventually act in unison. I would suspect that all of the candidates who thus far appeared have individuals among the group that support them."

Ford says his own questions dealt with "their campaign plans, who they had supporting them, how they expected to raise their money, how they expected to conduct their campaigns. There were questions asked about issues — and I asked several — but my thrust was to find out how they anticipated running their campaigns." He declined to identify the issues that concerned him, saying his goal simply was to "help in any way I can to get the best possible Republican candidate for the Senate. We need to retain that seat if the Republicans are to retain a majority in the United

Donald H. Harrison, long-time California political reporter, is a free-lance writer in San Diego.

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States Senate, and we have a number of very good candidates who reflect different areas on the Republican spectrum of California."

A signal to Hayakawa?

Ford denies that by being at the meeting he was "signaling" that Hayakawa was unacceptable as a candidate for re-election. "I would hope that the senator will do as the others have done and come before the group and make a presentation," he says. But Ford also admits that the sessions reminded him of a time in 1947 when a group of influential Republicans in Grand Rapids, Michigan, decided that "our incumbent in Congress was not the best candidate to represent the district. A number of leading citizens did make a survey as to who might be the best candidate to run in that congressional district. I personally at that time made a presentation to some of the leaders in that congressional district. Actually, I decided to run on my own, but the process was somewhat similar." The former president launched his congressional career by ousting Republican incumbent Bartell Jonkerman by a 2-1 margin in the 1948 primary.

Ford says he does not have any immediate plans to endorse a candidate in the current contest for the Senate, "but I'm keeping my options open."

The Fords have close ties to Pete Wilson. The San Diego mayor campaigned for Ford in New Hampshire against the 1976 primary challenge of Ronald Reagan, a move that cost Wilson the support of Reaganites in the 1978 gubernatorial race. Jack Ford's close friend and business partner is George Gorton, who is also director of Wilson's Senate campaign. It was Gorton who accompanied Jack Ford on a four-day swing in September to announce creation of an exploratory committee in the state controller's race. The two men's friendship dates from 1971 when Gorton directed the college division of Richard Nixon's Committee to Re-Elect the President; Jack Ford was his assistant. In 1976, when Jack Ford stumped the country for his father's presidential campaign, Gorton traveled with him as press secretary.

After the defeat of his father, young Ford moved to California, first to be on the staff of the *Rolling Stone's* new *Outside Magazine*, then to become a co-publisher with Gorton of the *Del Mar News-Press*, a weekly published in one of San Diego's most affluent suburbs. After selling the newspaper, Ford and Gorton, through their political consulting firm known as the California Group, purchased a two-story building in San Diego's Gaslamp Quarter, a building which they now are renovating. Gorton and Ford have been trying unsuccessfully to evict a porn store called "Pleasureland" that has been the building's ground-floor tenant since before its purchase by the California Group.

Other partners in the California Group's founding were Ken Rietz, a sparkplug in Lieutenant Governor Mike Curb's campaign for governor, and GOP Congressman Bill Lowery of San Diego, whose political career was launched in 1977 when Jack Ford appeared in his behalf in a campaign for the San Diego City Council. Lowery went on to Congress in the 1980 elections. He met Jack Ford in 1976 while working as a coordinator in Washington of Youth for Ford. A tragic coincidence deepened the Lowery-Ford bond: Lowery had planned to attend a wedding in Sacramento of a friend, Al Donner, today a correspondent for the *Sacramento Union* in Washington. But he canceled the flight and the return for himself and for his wife, Katie, after Jack Ford invited him to meet some major party contributors at his father's home in Rancho Mirage. The return flight was Flight 182, which, on September 25th, 1978, collided with a small plane over San Diego and crashed, killing 151 persons. "I was scheduled to get off that flight in Los Angeles, but if it hadn't been for Jack, Katie would have been in that crash," Lowery says.

Rietz had been Gorton's superior in President Nixon's re-election campaign, and both men had been identified by *Washington Post* reporters Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein as minor figures in the Watergate case. Specifically, Gorton passed on $150 weekly payments to a young George Washington University student, Theodore Brill, to keep tabs on students planning a peace vigil outside the White House. The money was reportedly from a secret political fund that was the subject of numerous Watergate hearings. Brill, according to Woodward and Bernstein, helped arrange for the drug arrest of some of the vigil's participants. Gorton's superior in that operation was Rietz who, according to columnist Jack Anderson, also was the man who hired ex-FBI agent John (Fat Jack) Buckley to oversee a spying operation on the headquarters of Democratic Senator Edmund Muskie of Maine, then a leading Democratic presidential contender.

Gorton was fired from a job with the Department of the Interior in 1973 following revelation of his Nixon campaign role, and stories about his activities with Rietz have followed both men ever since. Gorton says that he never did anything wrong, and that he has been branded unfairly. He recently wrote a letter to the editor of the *Washington Post* defending his name. Neither he nor Rietz ever were prosecuted on any charge. Young Ford was not involved in any questionable operation, according to Gorton.

Out of the room

At the same meeting at which Republican party influentials interviewed Wilson and McCloskey, they also interviewed Jack Ford for state controller. Half-way through Jack's presentation, the former president came into the room but excused himself when he saw who had the floor. "I want Jack to be a candidate on his own," the elder Ford later explained. "I felt that my presence there might have been prejudicial either for or against Jack. I have great confidence in his ability to make a presentation on his own behalf. I didn't want to influence his presentation by my presence."

Of course the former president didn't have to be in the room to be an influence. The fact that Jack carries his name and almost invariably will be identified in news stories as the "son of former President Gerald R. Ford" will clearly be a major factor in the race for the office now held by two-term incumbent Ken Cory.

The Fords do not try to pretend the name is not a key factor in Jack's prospect for success. "I'm proud of the Ford name," says Jack. "He is my father; I am his son. I have the greatest respect and admiration for him." He said he would be sensitive to charges of coat-tailing if "I hadn't gone out during the 1976 campaign and demonstrated the political talents I have on my own." Then, drawing the obvious analogy to another son of a famous politician, a son who got himself elected as California's secretary of state in 1970 and as governor four years later, Jack Ford says, "I'll tell you this: I'll do it different than Jerry (Brown) when I run. I'll not try to disown my father. Some of the statements he made about his father (former Governor Edmund G. Brown) I found distasteful."

Jack Ford will ask his father to campaign for him for controller. "I was out on the road for him in 1976 more than he was," the 29-year-old son says. "I would hope he would return the favor."

His father sees Jack's interest in political office as natural: "Jack was brought up in a family that was politically oriented and deeply involved in political matters. All his life, Jack lived in that environment. He worked at the United States Senate for, I think, three summers, where he had a great deal of exposure to top politicians, to the legislative process. He attended at least four national conventions; he worked as paid staff on at least two occasions, 1968

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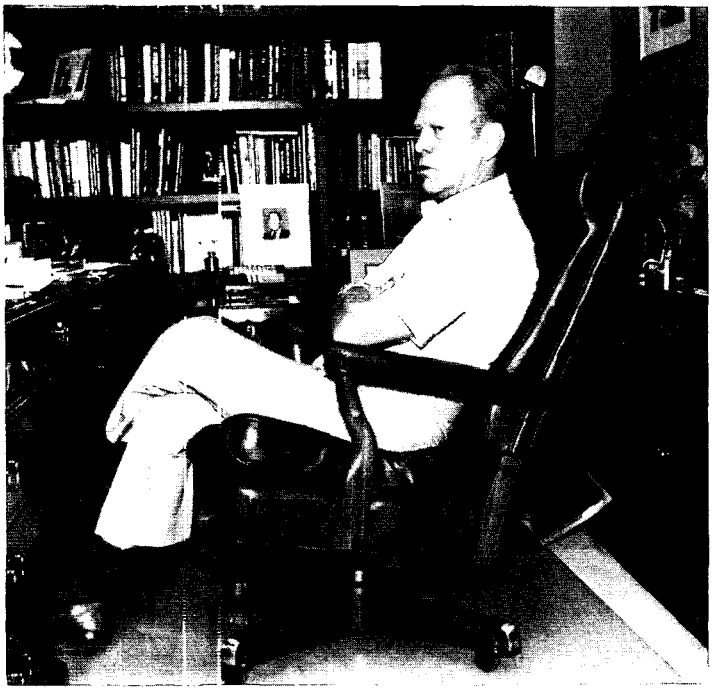
and 1972 (presidential elections) and he campaigned long and hard for me nationally where he had to discuss all the controversial issues . . . So there is no doubt in my mind he's fully qualified to discuss issues at a national or state level. He understands the political process, and even though he is relatively young, he has a tremendous reservoir of political knowledge and experience. So in my opinion his campaign for this office will be one where his own qualifications will be the criteria by which he'll hopefully make it.

"I might add, he's not the first young person who started as a statewide candidate at that age for political office in



The former president at home in the California desert

California If my memory serves me correctly, Jerry Brown ran for statewide office in his first political experience." Told that Brown previously had been elected to the Los Angeles Community College Board, Ford dismissed that election with a wave of his hand.

But is Jack qualified to be state controller? "I think so," says his father. "He's had the business experience, and a lot of the decisions made by the controller are political." Gordon Luce, chairman of San Diego Federal Savings & Loan and a former secretary of Business and Transportation under Governor Reagan, was one of the Republican contributors who interviewed young Ford and now is backing him. Would he give Jack a job as important as state controller in his own company?

"I probably would give a person such as Jack a bigger opportunity than some people, because I am convinced that youth and energy — with native intelligence and qualities that come from the environment he's had — put him ahead of some others, in terms of experience and training . . . Having been the president's son and having met so many people that do have experience and knowledge has helped Jack quite a bit. It is an advantage most people never have. I think he would serve well if elected."

Gorton cites a "certain parallelism" in the campaigns of Jack Ford, Mike Curb and Pete Wilson — with Gordon Luce and the California Group in each case being common denominators. After Wilson dropped out of the race for governor, Curb promptly announced he had been endorsed by 50 key Wilson supporters in the San Diego area. The Wilson campaign, meanwhile, began busily rounding up Curb supporters, with Rietz and Gorton in constant conference. "It wasn't a question of our players for future draft choices," Gorton says with a smile. "But word gets around, and when the president of one company calls the president of another and says I'm supporting so-and-so, they tend to listen. I think among the Republican contributors there is growing concensus on Wilson, Curb and Ford."

Jack Ford's list of exploratory committee members includes former state Controller Houston I. Flournoy; David Murdock, who headed the GOP screening session attended by the former president; Reagan "kitchen cabinet" members Henry Salvatori and Jacquelin Hume; longtime GOP contributor Margaret Brock; his father's close friend Leon Parma, a San Diego beer distributor; developer Don Koll; Luce and Kim Fletcher, president of Home Federal Savings & Loan.

The Dronenburg challenge

Ernest Dronenburg, chairman of the state Board of Equalization, is potentially Ford's principal opposition in the GOP primary. Like Ford, Dronenburg is a San Diegan, and Luce's support of his rival was a disappointment because Dronenburg and Luce were fellow delegates from San Diego to the 1980 presidential convention that nominated Reagan. But Dronenburg is not without important financial backers of his own. They include Julian Virtue, another insider at Murdock's meetings. Virtue was credited in 1980 with being the architect of Deane Dana's upset victory over Yvonne Burke in a Los Angeles supervisorial contest. A furniture manufacturer, Virtue heads up the Lincoln Clubs of Los Angeles County. Dronenburg also counts support from hamburger king Carl Karcher and Fred Lyte, who was Mike Antonovich's principal backer in the 1978 contest for lieutenant governor against Mike Curb. Lyte also backed Antonovich in his successful 1980 supervisorial contest in Los Angeles against Baxter Ward.

Dronenburg says he would not consider running for the Republican nomination for controller if there were "someone qualified." Rival Ford, said Dronenburg, "doesn't have any accounting background; he has a very limited background. When you match our resumés, there really isn't a choice, if you believe in having a professional in the position." Although Dronenburg is an accountant, he is not a certified public accountant; he flunked the CPA exam the one time he took it.

Ford concedes that, in a technical sense, Dronenburg — a former staff member of the Board of Equalization — might be better qualified for the job than he. But if accounting background were all that mattered, he adds, "We should just ask the accounting association to pick the best accountant in the state of California and let him be the controller."

The controller's office has been a traditional springboard in California politics. Cory, the incumbent, is considered a likely Democratic candidate for governor. Flournoy, his predecessor, was the unsuccessful GOP gubernatorial candidate in 1974. Both Democratic Senator Alan Cranston and former Republican Senator Tom Kuchel had been state controllers prior to their service in the U.S. Senate.

"If it's just going to be a political stepping stone, why have a state controller?" growls Dronenburg. "The controller should be bringing taxation legislation to the Legislature, not just reacting. He should say, 'Let's eliminate some of these cookie-jar taxes that are expensive to collect.' The energy resources surcharge brings in $18 million and costs $2 million to administer. That's a ratio of 9-1. The sales tax, by comparison, has a ratio of 100 to .07. It costs 70 cents to collect $100. We should be as efficient as we can. Because the controller sits on the Franchise Tax Board and the Board of Equalization, he should be a leader. He should push for simpler, easier methods of taxation."

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But "Ford" is a short, punchy well-known name. "Dronenburg" drones on and on, and is difficult to remember. Can he really overcome the advantages that a former president's son would have? "I'm going to see," replies Dronenburg. "I'm going to go around the state. I talk to legislators about the race, and when I tell them Ford is running, they say, 'What does he know about it?' I don't know how widespread that view will be."

For some time, Jack Ford had been assessing the possibility of running for the northern San Diego County congressional seat that Republican Congressman Clair W. Burgener of La Jolla has indicated he will abandon. Gerald Ford said that he telephoned Burgener to tell him of his son's interest in politics. Burgener told him that he already had pledged his support for Congress, in the event he retires, to Escondido City Councilman Jim Rady, a long-time Burgener supporter.

Knowing that the former president would dearly love to have his son follow in his footsteps through the halls of Congress, Dronenburg playfully has been extolling Jack Ford's potential as a great congressman. Jack Ford, meanwhile, has been speaking in glowing terms about the record Dronenburg has been making on the Board of Equalization — and suggesting that he stay there.

At one point, Dronenburg and Ford — with Gorton and Dronenburg aide Joe Vinatieri serving as seconds — met for lunch at Soledad Franco's restaurant in San Diego. As Dronenburg encouraged Ford to run for Congress, Ford encouraged Dronenburg to seek re-election. They split their lunch check.

Key to Dronenburg's strategy in the controller's race is the wooing of Reagan grassroots supporters, the kind who were delegates, alternates and guests at the 1980 Republican convention where he kept busy making friends. Jack Ford's strategy will be, apparently, to rely on a heavy media effort. He said he will need $1 million for the race; $1.5 million if Cory decides to seek re-election instead of running for governor against Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, in a Democratic primary.

Disagreeing with Mom

In recruiting long-time Reagan advisers Salvatori and Hume for his exploratory committee, Jack Ford was dealing in political realities: Just as his father's name can assist him, so too can it harm him with Reagan partisans who still haven't gotten over the 1976 Ford-Reagan split. Gerald Ford's association with the committee of influential Republican contributors screening statewide candidates is another indication that the Ford family has its lines out to the influential center of the Reagan political camp.

Young Ford raised some eyebrows on the San Diego leg of his four-city tour to announce formation of his exploratory committee. He was asked whether he was joining his mother, former First Lady Betty Ford, in support of the drive for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. "I'm certainly in favor of equal rights for everyone in this country," he replied. "I think we've made great strides, particularly in the area for women. Unfortunately, I think the ERA amendment is doomed to failure. I think probably the chances of getting it ratified by the necessary number of states is highly questionable . . . If it is a doomed entity and we're going to work on equal rights, maybe we're going to have to look for other vehicles."

But does he favor ratification? a reporter persisted. "Well, I'd have to say that it's more important to me that the people's rights be guaranteed, whether by the ERA amendment or by specific legislation. Again, I can't get wholeheartedly behind a fatally flawed vehicle."

His mother is a national leader in the ratification movement. Last August, Betty Ford was a co-chairman with actor Alan Alda of "The Last ERA Walk" in Los Angeles, which drew between 6,000 and 8,000 marchers. She is planning to travel throughout the country to stump for the amendment.

"She has to make her decision and I have to make mine," Jack Ford told the new conference in San Diego. Ironically, it was on that same day that his mother, in a telephone interview, told a reporter that on the ERA issue, at least, she believed the entire Ford family was unified. She had appeared in Virginia with her daughter Susan and granddaughter Tyne in favor of ERA, and plans similarly to visit her son Michael, daughter-in-law Gail and granddaughter Carol in North Carolina, when she appears in that state to speak in favor of ratification.

Jack Ford, following in father's footsteps

Concerning her own feelings about the prospects for ERA ratification, Betty Ford says, "I'm not pessimistic; I'm optimistic. I think we have a very hard battle. I think people have to put other things aside and concentrate on this sort of thing. I think we have to get a message into the states where those few legislators — in fact, you can count them on one hand — are opposing it. Support is growing, particularly among the women who have been very disappointed that they are losing ground. They're very much afraid. They're angry and they realize finally that there is less than a year left and they've got to get out and work."

When not campaigning for Jack, "I certainly hope to be in all the major states where we're hoping for ratification. We're concentrating, of course, on all of them — but there are some where our chances are better: Illinois, North Carolina, Florida, Oklahoma, Missouri and Virginia. We're

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doing door-to-door campaigning in Utah. The amazing thing is that in the *Salt Lake City Tribune*, when they ran the exact wording of the Equal Rights Amendment without saying that it was the Equal Rights Amendment, the people were for it. There was a 75 percent yes. They agreed with it. When they said are you going to vote the Equal Rights Amendment, and named it as the ERA, the vote of course went down."

Differing with Dad

If Jack's subsequent statements surprised his mother, it was not the first time that the candor of one Ford has surprised another. Mrs. Ford, who now is raising money for the chemical abuse unit at the Eisenhower Medical Center in the Palm Springs area, told the nation that she had become dependent on alcohol during the White House years. She freely spoke about her mastectomy operation. And once she raised eyebrows when she reacted matter-of-factly to a reporter's hypothetical question about what she would say if then-unmarried Susan were to tell her she was having an affair. Similarly, Jack sent reporters to their telephones with a comment during his father's administration that he once had tried marijuana. (Today, Jack says that he does not use marijuana anymore.)

While Jack and his mother may have differences over the ERA issue, the former president and his younger son, Steve, 25 (now an actor on television's daytime soap opera, "The Young and the Restless") have their lively differences on the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant issue. Gerald Ford and Jack Ford favor startup of the Diablo Canyon Nuclear Power Plant. Steve, whose 13-acre ranch is about 10 miles downwind from the plant, opposes the facility, although he says in general he supports nuclear power. He says he disagreed with the blockade of the nuclear power plant by protesters, on the grounds that there were other ways of registering protest.

"The plant is right on the Hosgri Fault," Steve Ford explains. "That's a fault with a potential of registering 7.5 on the Richter scale. When they had a 7 recently in Iran, there were thousands of people who died from that; communities which they couldn't get to for days. I want to make sure that PG&E, the state and federal governments make certain that there is a safe, feasible and effective evacuation plan during any nuclear incident that may occur in an earthquake. The problem is that there is no way to evacuate people in a nuclear disaster with an earthquake at the same time. The earthquake will take the roads and bridges out. There is no way to provide an exit."

Steve Ford said in a pre-blockade interview that he planned to show that community safety, rather than nuclear power, is the real issue. "I voiced my objections on 'Good Morning America,' and then I held a news conference at the Los Angeles Press Club to say that I was against it. After that, I started my own personal campaign in the local area, by taking out a half page ad in the *(San Luis Obispo) Telegram-Tribune*, with coupons that people could send to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission or to President Reagan."

Steve Ford says that he and his father have had numerous discussions on the issue, "trying to win each other over. He won't change his mind. I get the impression that he believes an earthquake and a nuclear accident occurring at the same time is unlikely. My response to him was 'When was the last time anyone shook a nuclear power plant at 7 on the Richter scale?' "

Betty Ford says she has been monitoring the arguments between Steve and her husband and still is trying to make up her mind. Brother Jack weighs in with his father: "As someone who had lived in Utah (where he was graduated from Utah University with a degree in forestry), and the thought of people from California coming and strip-mining Utah so that they didn't have to build power plants in California, I thought was sort of like robbing Peter to pay Paul. Why should we degrade the environment in Utah so that California doesn't have to do it for itself?"

Despite their disagreement, Steve said he will be pleased to campaign for Jack — "if he doesn't think the character I portray on television will hurt his campaign." (Steve plays the part of Andy Richards, a "Route 66 character who got more of his education on the road than in school," he explains. "He is an ex-rodeo cowboy, an ex-race car driver, somewhat of a womanizer. Hopefully, the writers will let him stay on the right side of the law," Steve laughs.)

Even though she disagrees with Jack on the ERA, Betty Ford says, "Naturally, as his mother, I think he is very capable and will be of great value to the voters in California. I hope to be able to get out there and do something for him and be helpful to his campaign."

The launching of a new Ford political career is a family preoccupation. Gerald Ford expects once again to be campaigning around the country for congressional candidates in 1982, but he says campaigning for his son in California will be a welcome relief.

"I'll do anything he wants me to," said the former president of the United State of America. "I'll raise money. Speak for him. I'll lick stamps, if he wants me to."

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THOMAS R. HOEBER, *Publisher*

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The 10 Media Commandments

(For candidates for governor)

By CHARLES McFADDEN

I. THOU SHALT be a Republican or Democrat from the Los Angeles area. Despite jet planes and instant communication, people still identify regionally, and it's best to be identified with the region holding the most voters. Buttonwillow, Lodi and Willits are nice places to visit.

II. THOU SHALT be telegenic and male. While you don't have to be Robert Redford-handsome, you must project better-than-average looks on television and, preferably, have a deep, resonant voice. A woman will inevitably be elected governor of California, but almost certainly not in 1982.

III. THOU SHALT recognize that getting voters' attention in campaigning means a daily scramble to get 90 seconds on the evening television newscasts. Remember that television people don't allot the resources necessary to make their reporters experts on politics (Saul Halpert, Rollin Post and Warren Olney are exceptions), so they rely on newspapers for guidance. And while television appears to be the bottom line, top line and all the lines in between, remember also that computerized mailings are sometimes awesome. Direct mail fund-raising operators are sophisticated enough these days to stick stamps (slightly crooked, so they'll look hand-placed) on the pre-addressed return envelope. The operators know people will feel guilty about throwing away an unused 18-cent stamp. And they can target appeals to, say, owners of 1949 Plymouths in Oxnard who believe in gun control.

Charles McFadden is director of university relations at California State University, Sacramento, and a former reporter for the Associated Press.

IV. THOU SHALT NOT forget that most television news directors consider politics boring because it lacks pictures people will be interested in looking at on the home tube. You must therefore have someone on your staff who is good at dreaming up zippy visuals for you to participate in. Day after day after day.

V. THOU SHALT have access to at least $7 million to spend on the campaign.

VI. THOU SHALT do well in the polls early, remembering that a high standing in the universally respected California Poll means you'll attract more attention from reporters, which translates into more name recognition, which means ability to attract more money, which spells more name recognition, which boosts poll standings . . .

VII. THOU SHALT NOT expect legislative success and Capitol press corps recognition to translate easily into statewide fame. Ask not "Who was Bob Moretti?"

VIII. THOU SHALT NOT become too pooped on the campaign trail. An exhausted, stumbling candidate says things that cause him much woe. Besides, he doesn't look good.

IX. THOU SHALT keep it simple. A sure way to capture the voters' hearts is to piggyback your ambition onto a promise of quick and easy abolition of something people get mad about. Sam Yorty zoomed into the mayor's chair in Los Angeles on a campaign to repeal a city ordinance requiring housewives to separate tin cans from other types of garbage. March Fong Eu made political capital out of zapping pay potties. Complexity is the cold hand of death in the media.

X. THOU SHALT enjoy flying in airplanes. You must go to a city to get on that city's tubes. Four cities a day. Maybe more. San Francisco stations, for instance, don't give a damn what you said in Fresno. They'll cover you only if you say it in San Francisco and sometimes not even then (see III, IV and V).

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Special section

Reapportionment 1981

Will the state's Democrats be successful in upholding a redistricting plan designed to guarantee the party majority status for the next decade?

Will Republicans be successful in overturning the Democratic proposals via the referendum process?

Will the state Supreme Court strike down any or all of the lines drawn by Democrats for their own benefit?

What is the outlook for 1982 and beyond for the state's 165 legislative districts?

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California's master reapportionment manipulator, Congressman Phil Burton of San Francisco, once proclaimed: "You can't take the politics out of politics." This year, in attempting to perform the post-census ritual of redrawing the lines for the state's legislative districts, Burton and company didn't even try. They simply resorted to old-fashioned hardball politics and rammed the shaft into the *corpus Republicanus*.

There was one notable exception. In redistricting the state Senate, the friendly followers of official GOP leader Bill Campbell were spared while the associates of pro-gun activist Bill Richardson were slaughtered ruthlessly.

Text by ED SALZMAN
Maps by MIKE DORAN

From the start of the Legislature's complex reapportionment process the key question was whether the majority Democrats would take advantage of their numbers and carve up the state to their own liking, without regard for the Republicans, Hispanics, incumbents or purveyers of so-called "fair-play" redistricting plans. In the Assembly, Willie Brown had won the speakership as a result of an alliance with Republicans. Would the GOP be able to use the coalition status to prevent the kind of one-party reapportionment that was once standard in the state (especially when the Republicans were in control)? There was also the issue of last year's Proposition 6, which theoretically made it more difficult to break up communities of interest with redistricting lines. And there was the all-out pressure of the business community, using the Rose Institute at the Claremont Men's College, to publicize "fair" ways that seats could be distributed.

The bills that came out of the Legislature in mid-September indicated that the Willie Brown-Carol Hallett alliance gave the GOP no voice in reapportionment. Brown did grant the GOP funds for first-class technical work — the capacity with which to complain. In the Senate, the Democrats' main goal was to decimate the Richardson forces. And enormous national pressure was placed on the Legislature to maximize Democratic gains as an offset to GOP advantages in Eastern states. Resistance to the congressional plan developed by Burton (with a major assist from Michael Berman, the technician brother of Assemblyman Howard Berman.) was crushed in the state Senate by a charge from Democratic National Chairman Charles Mannatt and associates.

If the bills enacted by the Legislature and promptly signed into law by Governor Jerry Brown become effective, the new districts will apply to next June's primary. But there are good odds that changes will be made:

- The Republican Party has been prepared to spend a fortune, even millions of dollars, to challenge the plans by referendum. That would put the bills on the ballot next June. If the new lines are rejected, the entire election schedule would have to be rearranged. But there is an alternative scenario: If the referendum qualifies for the ballot, the Legislature could return in special session to enact new redistricting bills even rougher on the GOP than the first set. Then the Republicans would be challenged to try the referendum route again — and perhaps again and again. In any event, the possibility of a referendum places all of next year's district elections in doubt — unless there is action on another front.

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● Some of the lines are bound to be challenged in court, primarily on grounds that communities have been severed unnecessarily and that Hispanics have been discriminated against. The court could take the entire redistricting issue into its own hands, as it was forced to do following the 1970 census.

● The federal government could turn down a few districts as violations of the federal Voting Rights Act. Four counties with military bases come under that act.

The stakes in the reapportionment battle are enormous. Without such baldly partisan bills, it might be possible for the Republicans to pick up some seats in the coming decade — especially because the population growth has been in areas with GOP voting patterns. Control of the entire House of Representatives might be at stake.

To many Californians, the Legislature's action may seem like a bold partisan play. That's because the redistricting politics of the past 15 years have been unusual — with a Republican governor and some other factors preventing one-party decisions. In reality, all that happened this year was a return to the redistricting practices of the past — the playing of unilateral politics by the party in power.

Congress:
Turn back the clock

The congressional elections of 1980 never took place in California. The Republican Party didn't come within a single seat of taking control of the 43-member delegation to the House of Representatives.

That's what one might think by looking at the congressional reapportionment plan enacted by the Legislature under the stewardship of Congressman Phil Burton, backed by the Democratic Party's national high command. In effect, the Burton plan gives back to the Democrats the seats they lost in the last election (plus one they lost two years earlier).

Despite population shifts that benefited the Republicans, the Burton plan would give the Democrats a 27-18 majority in the enlarged California delegation, plus a shot at a 28th seat. Much of the discussion about the congressional redistricting has centered on the irregular district created to save the political skin of Burton's brother, John. But that was only a move to retain the status quo. The real Democratic gains were made elsewhere in the state.

The districts lost in 1980 by Lionel Van Deerlin in San Diego, Jim Corman in the San Fernando Valley and Jim Lloyd in the Claremont region have magically been recreated. The plan operates on the assumption that Carey Peck, not Republican Bob Dornan, won their hot contest a year ago. And a Democratic seat was established in Fresno County to replace the one lost by John Krebs to Chip Pashayan in the 1978 election.

The Burton plan, fashioned with the assistance of Long Beach professor Leroy Hardy and Assemblyman Howard Berman's brother, Michael, in essence gives the Democrats the two new seats granted the state as a result of the 1980 census and folds three Republican districts. Dornan and John Rousselot no longer have districts they can recognize as their own, and Barry Goldwater Jr. and Bobbi Fiedler were merged into a single district. With Goldwater running for the Senate, Fiedler presumably will have no trouble winning a second term; she might have been beaten in the old Corman district.

Some members of the state Senate were not especially pleased with the Burton plan, especially because former state Senator Anthony Beilenson of Los Angeles was unhappy with his new boundaries. But pressure from Washington prevailed. Democrats were told that it was necessary to create every possible safe Democratic district in California in order to counterbalance losses in states where Republicans were "savaging" Democratic incumbents. Burton and company kept harping away at the theme that control of the House of Representatives might be at stake.

Because of the inevitable attacks on the plan, Burton went to extremes in pointing out that his lines dramatically reduce the number of communities that are divided. His population statistics show far less variation than those for the Senate and Assembly. Because he was politically so ruthless, he thought that it was vital that he minimize the potential for technical assault on his package.

But how does he defend the creation of a highly imaginative district for kid brother John, who was a top GOP target last year? The district includes a hunk of San Francisco, Marin County, the city of Vallejo and an almost-detached arm into San Mateo County to capture the good Democrats of Daly City. The district looks ridiculous on a map even though it probably is not nearly as assailable as the Senate district that runs from Kings County into the black wards of Pasadena.

No one can tell how the courts will treat the congressional districts, which pose a different problem from the legislative lines. The courts could order that the 1982 elections be held in the 1980 districts, but that cannot hold for Congress because the state now has two more congressional districts. Will the court allow the Burton plan to go into effect — but only for one election?

Burton was so audacious that he did not even present the Legislature with maps of the districts he was proposing. He did prepare a packet of statistical data. Much of the following information is culled from Burton's materials. The accompanying maps are based on information from Rose Institute at Claremont Men's College.

District 1 (52%D-34%R) — Del Norte, Glenn, Humboldt, Mendocino, Trinity and Sonoma counties. Republican Don Clausen would lose Lake and Napa counties under this plan, and the general feeling among insiders is that he has been hurt. If Clausen is challenged by a strong Democrat, he could be in trouble. OUTLOOK: Possible problems for Clausen if he is challenged by state Senator Barry Keene or Assemblyman Doug Bosco.

District 2 (51%D-38%R) — Butte, Colusa, Lake, Napa, Sutter, Tehama, Yuba and the southwest third of Shasta County (most of Redding). This district is designed for Republican Eugene Chappie even though it is quite far from his home territory in the foothills east of Sacramento. Chappie now represents some of the area, and he is a hotshot campaigner who will be very hard to beat. OUTLOOK: This is a Republican district made to order for Chappie. Before long, he'll know the territory.

District 3 (57%D-32%R) — Most of urban Sacramento, except for much of the area north of the American River. Democrat Bob Matsui will probably run an active campaign, even though he could probably be re-elected with one-fifth the effort.

District 4 (57%D-30%R) — Yolo County, most of Solano County (except Vallejo), and a large piece of Sacramento County (Folsom, Galt, Isleton, North Highlands, Citrus Heights). Incumbent Vic Fazio is one of the Democrats' most accomplished politicians, but he may be targeted by the Republicans. His district is weaker, and Republicans have been running strong in this region in recent elections. OUTLOOK: Fazio should survive, but it may be more difficult than usual if the GOP finds a strong candidate.

District 5 (60%D-23%R) — The western two-thirds of San Francisco. The chief architect of this plan, Democrat Phil Burton of San Francisco, took good care of himself. OUTLOOK: Phil Burton didn't even need this good a district.

District 6 (57%D-25%R) — Marin County, the eastern third of San Francisco, Daly City in San Mateo County and the Vallejo area of Solano County. This is the most absurd district in the state, crafted specifically to help Democrat John Burton stay in Congress. The Vallejo part of the district is attached to the main portion only by water. The passage from San Francisco to the strip of land across San Mateo County is rather narrow. If this district stands the inevitable court test, it probably will be safe for Burton, who came reasonably close to defeat last year. OUTLOOK: John Burton's Republican challenger will probably try to make reapportionment a prime issue, but the district's Democrats are rather loyal. And Burton has already tempered his anti-military stand to make friends in Solano County.

District 7 (57%D-32%R) — Most of Contra Costa County except El Cerrito and the Lafayette-Moraga area. Democrat George Miller is considered invulnerable, but the Republicans think they can compete in this district after he's gone. OUTLOOK: Miller is

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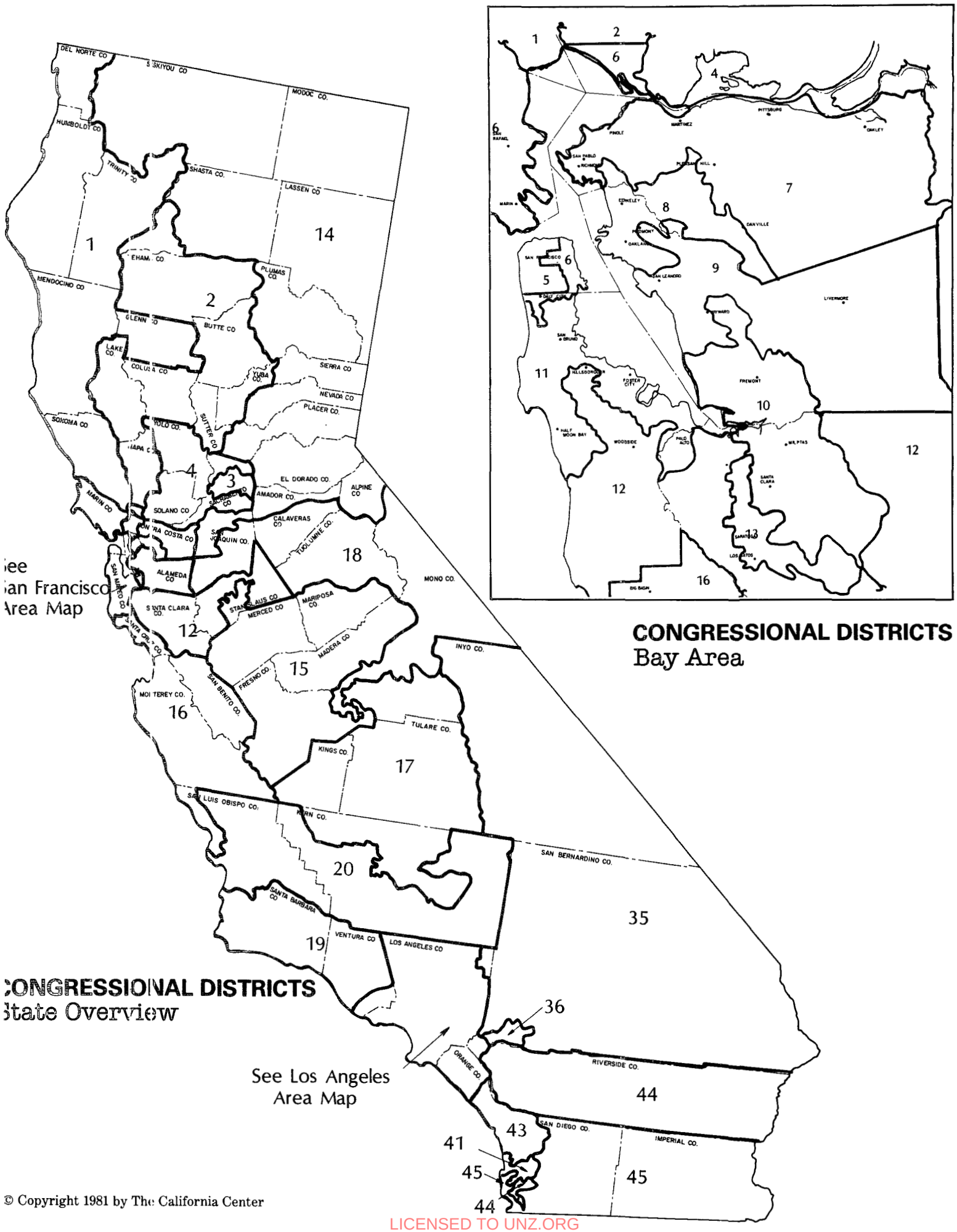

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young, has no intention of leaving.

District 8 (60%D-26%R) — The Berkeley-Oakland area, plus the El Cerrito and Lafayette-Moraga areas of Contra Costa County. Democrat Ron Dellums would get a solid Democratic district with a heavy black population, just what he wants. OUTLOOK: Dandy for Dellums.

District 9 (60%D-28%R) — Part of Oakland, San Leandro, Hayward and the Livermore-Pleasanton area, all in Alameda County. Democrat Fortney (Pete) Stark is a liberal who had unexpected trouble last year. His new district is plenty Democratic but hardly liberal. He could be targeted by the Republicans, and the name often mentioned is Assemblyman Gib Marguth (who was redistricted out of his seat). Stark has plenty of money and can run a strong campaign if he wants to win badly enough. OUTLOOK: A Stark-Marguth race would be one of the state's best.

District 10 (59%D-26%R) — The Union City-Newark-Fremont area of Alameda County, plus Milpitas and a part of San Jose in Santa Clara County. This district is similar to the one represented by Democrat Don Edwards for many years. OUTLOOK: Edwards rarely gets tested, and 1982 should be no exception.

District 11 (54%D-32%R) — Most of the cities in San Mateo County (with the exception of Daly City and the affluent Hillsborough-Atherton region), and Palo Alto in Santa Clara County. The victory of Democrat Tom Lantos in this area last year made reapportionment much more difficult for the Democrats. Had he lost, John and Phil Burton could have divided the San Francisco Peninsula. But Lantos' victory made it necessary to find enough Democrats for three incumbents. Thus, the Burtons were unable to move heavily into San Mateo County. The district drawn for Lantos is marginal, but he should be able to keep his seat. He has been very active in his first months in office. OUTLOOK: Leaning to Lantos.

District 12 (46%D-40%R) — The Hillsborough-Woodside-Atherton area of San Mateo County, a large portion of Santa Clara County (Los Altos, Mountain View, Sunnyvale, Cupertino, Saratoga, Morgan Hill, Gilroy and a piece of San Jose), and a large part of Stanislaus County (Oakdale and Turlock). This district has been designed to capture as many Republicans as possible in the south San Francisco Bay area. It ties the folks in the Peninsula hills with farmers in the Central Valley, a matchup that might be contested in court. This district replaces the one now represented by Republican Pete McCloskey, who is running for the United States Senate. OUTLOOK: Republican from Hillsborough to Hughson.

District 13 (53%D-34%R) — A compact Santa Clara County district encompassing a large part of San Jose, Campbell and Santa Clara. Democrat Norman Mineta, the former mayor of San Jose, was starting to get worried about his district. It was marginal in registration, and his name identification had started to lag because of residential turnover. This district makes him safer. OUTLOOK: The combination of Mineta and boundary changes make this seat safe for the Democrats.

District 14 (51%D-39%R) — Alpine, Amador, El Dorado, Lassen, Modoc, Nevada, Placer, Plumas, Sierra, Siskiyou and parts of Shasta and San Joaquin counties. This district is far different from the Stockton-based constituency now represented by Republican Norman Shumway. It includes the Lodi section of San Joaquin County and a finger into Stockton. Shumway would probably lose in the primary if his colleague, Gene Chappie, ran against him. But Chappie seems content with District 2. OUTLOOK: Barring a tough primary fight, Shumway should be able to make a career out of Congress.

District 15 (58%D-32%R) — Madera, Merced and Mariposa counties, the Modesto area of Stanislaus County and the smaller communities of Fresno County. The incumbent in this district is Democrat Tony Coelho, and that should tell the story. Coelho is recognized as one of the state's shrewdest young politicians, and he could win in almost any Central Valley district. This one is safer than most. OUTLOOK: Coelho will probably spend more time helping other Democrats around the country than tilling the soil in his own district.

District 16 (51%D-34%R) — Santa Cruz, San Benito and Monterey counties, plus the northwestern coastal strip of San Luis Obispo County (Morro Bay area). Democrat Leon Panetta, one of California's most respected House members, represents this district, which has marginal party registration. San Luis Obispo was sliced a bit more to his liking this time, and that will make him safer. However, Panetta is extremely popular in his district and won by an overwhelming margin in the Reagan year of 1980. OUTLOOK: The Monterey Bay area will keep voting for Panetta.

District 17 (54%D-34%R) — Tulare and Kings counties, a large chunk of Kern County (Arvin, Delano, McFarland and Wasco), and a part of Fresno County (Clovis and the northeastern sector of the city of Fresno). Republican Chip Pashayan has the same kind of a Valley district he has had for two terms, nominally Democratic but with almost no party loyalty. He'll win again unless the Democrats come up with a top-flight candidate. OUTLOOK: The Democrats are not counting on picking up this seat, but some year Pashayan may be tested.

District 18 (62%D-28%R) — Calaveras, Mono and Tuolumne counties, the heart of the city of Fresno and the city of Sanger in Fresno County, plus the southern portion of San Joaquin County (most of Stockton, Manteca, Escalon, Ripon and Tracy). This district has no incumbent and was made to order for Assembly Democrat Rick Lehman of Fresno. OUTLOOK: Lehman will love this district, but no Valley district can be rated safe for a Democrat.

District 19 (50%D-36%R) — Santa Barbara County, plus a major portion of Ventura County (Santa Paula, the city of Ventura and a piece of Oxnard). Republican Robert J. Lagomarsino has carried this region overwhelmingly for many years. But the voters in the Santa Barbara-Ventura area cannot be taken for granted by the GOP. Should Lagomarsino depart, the district could go Democratic. OUTLOOK: Safe for the Republicans as long as Lagomarsino carries the party banner.

District 20 (46%D-42%R) — All of San Luis Obispo except the Morro Bay area, the bulk of Kern County (Bakersfield, Ridgecrest, Shafter, Taft, Tehachapi), and the Lancaster-Palmdale region of Los Angeles County. Republican Bill Thomas would have a significantly different district under this plan. He adds San Luis Obispo territory and gives up San Joaquin Valley and Sierra Mountain precincts. But his district is still decidedly Republican. OUTLOOK: Thomas will adjust to the new western orientation of his district.

District 21 (43%D-45%R) — The Thousand Oaks-Simi Valley area of Ventura County, plus the Chatsworth-Hidden Valley area of Los Angeles County. Much of this Republican area is now represented by Republican Barry Goldwater Jr. who is running for the United States Senate. The incumbent in the district is Republican Bobbi Fiedler, who won a traditionally Republican seat in 1980. In effect, Burton merged the Goldwater and Fiedler Republicans into a single district. OUTLOOK: Fiedler need worry only about the GOP primary.

District 22 (39%D-52%R) — The Los Angeles communities of Arcadia, Burbank, Glendale, La Canada-Flintridge, Monrovia, San Marino, South Pasadena, Sierra Madre and Temple City, plus part of Pasadena. This district combines two Republican incumbents, Carlos Moorhead and John Rousselot. The bulk of the district is familiar to Moorhead, and that means Rousselot will probably run for another seat or another office. Burton wanted to eliminate Rousselot because Rousselot had worked to defeat Burton's brother, John, last year. OUTLOOK: Moorhead should be the survivor.

District 23 (58%D-32%R) — Beverly Hills and a large piece of the San Fernando Valley, including Canoga Park and Reseda. The entire West Los Angeles-San Fernando Valley region was realigned to make room for two new Democrat congressmen. As a result, incumbent Democrat Anthony Beilenson didn't get what he wanted. Now, Beilenson will have to work harder to keep the home folks happy, but he should win without much trouble. OUTLOOK: Beilenson is weaker but still strong enough to win.

District 24 (58%D-30%R) — The Hollywood area. Democrat Henry Waxman is entrenched in this area, and he figures to become increasingly powerful in Congress. OUTLOOK: Watch out for Waxman if this plan goes into effect. He will be the leader of a growing group of aggressive young California Democrats.

District 25 (70%D-20%R) — East Los Angeles and a part of Pasadena. Democrat Ed Roybal has become an institution in this district. He can keep the seat as long as he wants it. There are those hankering for him to retire so they can move up the Latino political ladder. OUTLOOK: Made to order for an Hispanic Democrat like Roybal.

District 26 (59%D-31%R) — Van Nuys, Sherman Oaks, Panorama City, San Fernando and a piece of the west side of Los Angeles. This district was created specifically for Assembly Democrat Howard Berman, long-time political partner of Congressman Henry Waxman. OUTLOOK: This district, drawn by Michael Berman, should be perfect for brother Howard.

District 27 (56%D-32%R) — Santa Monica, Venice, Redondo Beach, Manhattan Beach, El Segundo, Hermosa Beach and Catalina Island. Theoretically, the incumbent in this coastal district is Republican Bob Dornan. But Dornan's district was cut to bits, leaving this territory ripe for plucking by Democratic Assemblyman Mel Levine, another associate of Henry Waxman. The area has Republican pockets but not enough of them to help Dornan, who has chosen to run for the United States Senate. OUTLOOK: Levine should prevail.

District 28 (73%D-18%R) — Culver City, Inglewood and the Coliseum area of Los Angeles. Democrat Julian Dixon is entrenched in this seat, won with the help of the Berman-Waxman organization. OUTLOOK: This district hasn't changed much, and Dixon has shown strong vote-pulling capacity.

District 29 (78%D-14%R) — Watts, Downey, Huntington Park and South Gate. Democrat Augustus Hawkins is the state's senior black politician, and there are those

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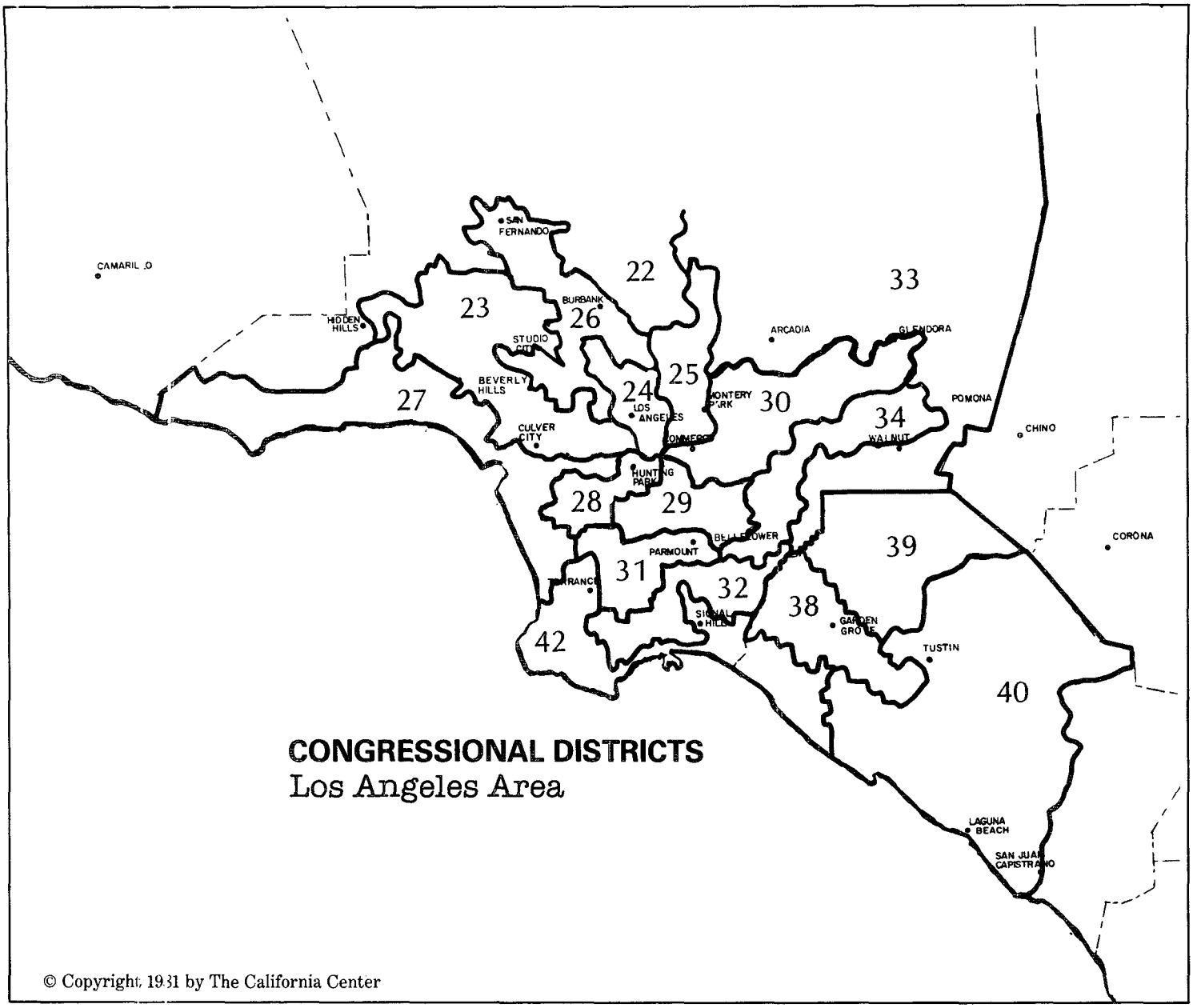

waiting impatiently for him to retire so they can run for his seat. The district can be carried only by a black Democrat. OUTLOOK: Hawkins shows no sign of leaving.

District 30 (63%D-22%R) — Alhambra, Azusa, Bell, Commerce, Cudahy, El Monte, Irwindale, Maywood, Montebello, Monterey Park, Rosemead, San Gabriel, Vernon and Bell Gardens. This district is heavily Hispanic and is represented by Democrat George Danielson. Should Danielson be appointed to a judgeship, as has been rumored, the district would become a prime Hispanic target. OUTLOOK: This district is Democratic. The real question is when an Hispanic will carry it.

District 31 (73%D-18%R) — Bellflower, Carson, Compton, Gardena, Hawthorne, Lynwood, Paramount. Some alterations have been made to this district, represented by former Democratic Lieutenant Governor Mervyn Dymally, but it is not about to be won by a Republican. OUTLOOK: Dymally may have found a home in Congress.

District 32 (61%D-28%R) — San Pedro, Cerritos, Hawaiian Gardens, Lakewood, Lomita and part of Long Beach. Another former Democratic lieutenant governor, Glenn Anderson, represents this district. He has been weakened through the loss of Carson and the pickup of some marginal territory. Republican Assemblyman Gerald Felando might tackle Anderson, and the race could get mighty interesting. OUTLOOK: Anderson has a healthy Democratic majority going for him, but loyalty in this area is not strong. He could be targeted, and Felando would be a rough competitor.

District 33 (46%D-45%R) — Claremont, Covina, Glendora, La Habra Heights, La Mirada, La Verne, Pomona, Walnut and Whittier. On paper, this solidly Republican district belongs to incumbent Wayne Grisham. However, much of the area either is or has been represented by fellow Republican John Rousselot. If Rousselot decides to challenge Grisham in the GOP primary, the race could provide a good show. Rousselot has more friends in the party than Grisham. OUTLOOK: Safe Republican, but Grisham will be looking over his shoulder until the Rousselot threat is out of the way.

District 34 (65%D-21%R) — Artesia, Baldwin Park, Industry, La Puente, Norwalk, Pico Rivera, Santa Fe Springs, South El Monte, West Covina. This blue-collar district is 48 percent Hispanic. It has no incumbent, and anything can happen despite the huge Democratic registration advantage. Democrat Jim Lloyd of West Covina, defeated by David Dreier last year, might try to make a comeback in this district. The Republicans might find a candidate who can win it. And how will the Latino vote go? OUTLOOK: Highly unpredictable.

District 35 (45%D-45%R) — Inyo County, all of San Bernardino County except the cities of Colton, Ontario, Fontana, Rialto and San Bernardino, and a small rural piece of northeastern Los Angeles County. This plan would give freshman David Dreier a safe district based in the Redlands area of San Bernardino County. OUTLOOK: Great for the GOP. Dreier should hold it for many a year.

District 36 (58%D-29%R) — The Democratic portion of the city of Riverside and the cities of Colton, Ontario, Fontana, Rialto and San Bernardino in San Bernardino County. Veteran Democrat George Brown was starting to show signs of weakness. This district was designed to shore him up. OUTLOOK: Brown should survive.

District 37 (47%D-42%R) — All of Riverside County except the northern precincts in the city of Riverside. Republican Jerry Lewis would like to run for statewide

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office. While he's waiting for a good opportunity, he can warm this Riverside congressional seat. He lost a part of San Bernardino County, but that won't hurt him. OUTLOOK: Republican with or without Lewis.

District 38 (53%D-33%R) — The Orange County communities of Cypress, Garden Grove, La Palma, Stanton and parts of Anaheim, Buena Park, Santa Ana and Westminster. Democrat Jerry Patterson has been running ahead of registration in the only Democratic district in Orange County. The Republicans may make him a target in 1982, and the race could get tight. OUTLOOK: Patterson is the early favorite, but Orange County doesn't keep many Democrats in office until they grow old.

District 39 (41%D-48%R) — Brea, Fullerton, La Habra, Placentia, Yorba Linda and parts of Anaheim, Buena Park and Orange. Democrats in Congress were probably tempted to carve Republican Bill Dannemeyer out of his district, but that's mighty difficult in Orange County. Dannemeyer, a former Democratic assemblyman, grates on his colleagues' nerves because he likes to speak out more than most members. OUTLOOK: More speeches from Dannemeyer.

District 40 (36%D-50%R) — Costa Mesa, Irvine, Laguna Beach, Newport Beach and parts of Huntington Beach, Orange and Santa Ana. This Orange County coastal district, represented by Republican Bob Badham, is impervious to Democratic attack. OUTLOOK: Safe as ever for the GOP.

District 41 (42%D-41%R) — The San Diego County communities of Del Mar, La Mesa, Poway, Santee, La Jolla and Clairemont. Moderate Republican Bill Lowery had a hard fight to win his seat in 1980. This district will let him glide into a second term. All of San Diego was made comfortable for incumbent Republicans so that a new seat could be created for a Democrat. OUTLOOK: Safer for Lowery.

District 42 (44%D-46%R) — In Los Angeles County, a long coastal strip that includes part of Long Beach, Palos Verdes, Rolling Hills, Signal Hill and Torrance; in Orange County, Seal Beach and parts of Westminster and Huntington Beach. This safe Republican district was carved from territory represented by Bob Dornan and Dan Lungren, who survives as the incumbent. Lungren was one of the GOP beneficiaries of the plan to create two new Democratic districts in Los Angeles County. OUTLOOK: Republican for a decade.

District 43 (35%R-51%R) — Southern Orange County (El Toro, San Juan Capistrano, San Clemente) and northern San Diego County (Carlsbad, Escondido, Oceanside, San Marcos, Vista). Incumbent Republican Clair Burgener has been talking about retiring. Whether he leaves or not, the district will go Republican by a wide margin. OUTLOOK: Democrats need not apply.

District 44 (58%D-27%R) — National City, part of Chula Vista, Lemon Grove and the heavily Democratic precincts of downtown San Diego. This is the reincarnation of the seat lost by Democrat Lionel Van Deerlin to Republican Duncan Hunter last year — with a bit of a bonus for the Democrats. The district leans heavily toward the Democratic nominee, but factors could develop to make it competitive. OUTLOOK: The new 44th probably will go Democratic.

District 45 (45%D-39%R) — Imperial County, plus the communities of Coronado, El Cajon and Imperial Beach, and parts of Chula Vista and the city of San Diego. This district, which runs from the Pacific Ocean to the Arizona border, was created for freshman Duncan Hunter. It has a bizarre hook that cradles central San Diego and thus removes as many GOP precincts as possible from the 44th District. OUTLOOK: This will be a hard district for Hunter or a Republican successor to lose.

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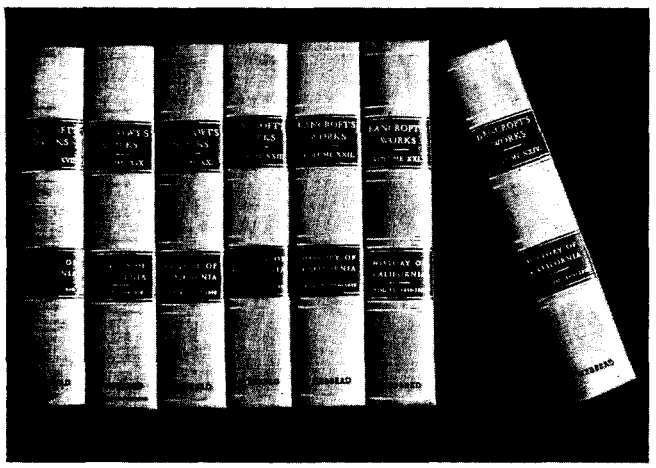

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State Senate:
Rape of the Richardsons

State Senate Republican leader Bill Campbell has been running around the country screaming about how the Democrats perpetrated dirty redistricting deeds on the Grand Old Party. But in his heart, Campbell is probably delighted with the way the Democratic leadership carved up the 40-piece Senate pie.

The plan enacted by the Legislature virtually annihilates the forces led by Campbell's main rival, conservative senator H. L. (Bill) Richardson. Members of Campbell's group were, for the most part, given sweetheart districts. In the Senate, the rivalry between the Richardson and Campbell forces has been much more intense than the traditional competition between the two political parties.

The scheme concocted by Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti, Elections and Reapportionment Committee Chairman Dan Boatwright and their aides is designed to guarantee Democratic majorities in the Senate for years to come — and to give the Campbell faction solid control of the Republican caucus.

The Democrats not only divided the districts to their liking, but they also assigned numbers in a strategic fashion to hurt the Richardson group. Only half the new districts — those with even numbers — will be contested next year. The Republicans have a majority of holdover, odd-numbered senators, 11-9. They had hoped that they could win half the even-numbered seats and take control of the Senate, but the Roberti-Boatwright plan gives the GOP only three safe seats next year. Democrats could well win 15 of the 20 seats up next year and increase their current advantage from 23-17 to 24-16. Much will depend on which incumbents seek re-election and which options are taken by dislocated Republicans.

Here are the key moves that hurt the Richardson faction:

- Richardson himself was given a district that runs all the way from Azusa in Los Angeles County to the border of Alpine County south of Lake Tahoe. Richardson has the option of running in an adjacent district against fellow Republican Newton Russell. Richardson's home town of Arcadia is placed in Russell's district.
- Richardson's protégé, John Doolittle of Sacramento, must either move into foreign territory and run against another Republican or try to win a Sacramento seat tailored for a Democrat.
- Republicans Dan O'Keefe and Marz Garcia were placed in the same district, one with an odd number. Both are up for re-election next year and thus have no place to run. O'Keefe is a Richardson backer. Garcia has announced he will run for lieutenant governor next year.
- John Schmitz of Orange County saw his district cut to pieces. He's running for the United States Senate against long odds.
- Ollie Speraw of Long Beach found himself in the same district with Republican Bob Beverly. His best chance of survival is to try a race in Orange County.
- In an attempt to prevent a conservative Democrat from winning a Bakersfield-based seat, the plan gives Democrat Walter Stiern a district that runs from Kings County into Pasadena, where there are some 40,000 black and presumably loyal Democratic voters. The GOP had expected to win the Stiern seat in the next couple of elections. This is the district considered most vulnerable to court challenge.

Here is a district-by-district rundown of all 40 Senate seats with approximate registration statistics:

District 1 (52%D-37%R) — Siskiyou, Modoc, Lassen, Plumas, Butte, Sierra, Yuba, Nevada, Sutter, El Dorado and Placer counties. This district is made to order for veteran Republican Ray Johnson, who plans to seek re-election in 1984.

District 2 (56%D-30%R) — Del Norte, Humboldt, Mendocino and Solano counties, and the coastal portion of Sonoma County. With the exception of Solano County, incumbent Democrat Barry Keene has been successful in this territory. Solano is Democratic and new to Keene, but he knows how to work a territory. OUTLOOK FOR 1982: If Keene runs for re-election, he should win. Assemblyman Doug Bosco, also a Democrat, could probably hold the seat for his party should Keene run for Congress.

District 3 (53%D-27%R) — Marin County and the northern portion of San Francisco. Republican Milton Marks, who votes like a Democrat, will be working Marin County for the first time. His biggest potential problem is a primary contest based in Marin. But Marks is a tireless campaigner who will soon know every hot tub in Marin. If and when Marks chooses to abandon the seat, either party could win it.

District 4 (53%D-36%R) — Tehama, Trinity, Shasta, Glenn, Lake, Colusa, Yolo, Napa and eastern Sonoma County (part of Santa Rosa, Sonoma, Cotati and Rohnert Park). Republican Jim Nielsen used to have a marginal district, but now he's got one made to order. It is mostly agricultural, and his only strong Democratic area is the city of Davis. OUTLOOK FOR 1982: Nielsen should be an easy winner in this agricultural country.

District 5 (56%D-35%R) — Amador, Calaveras, Alpine, San Joaquin and Tuolumne counties, plus part of Sacramento County outside the city of Sacramento (Rancho Cordova, Folsom, Galt, Isleton and Elk Grove). Senate majority leader John Garamendi now represents much of this foothill area, and he's a strong campaigner. If Garamendi runs again in 1984, he will be a heavy favorite. Otherwise, the seat could go to a Republican.

District 6 (58%D-31%R) — The entire city of Sacramento and some surrounding area. This district was created to give the Democrats a seat and to take one away from Republican John Doolittle. The area is now represented by Doolittle and Jim Nielsen. OUTLOOK FOR 1982: Doolittle might try to win the seat, but he would be a distinct underdog against a well-financed Democrat. One possible opponent: Councilman Lloyd Connelly of Sacramento.

District 7 (56%D-33%R) — Most of Contra Costa County, including Richmond, San Pablo, Martinez, Concord, Pleasant Hill and Walnut Creek. This district is very similar to the current constituency of Senator Dan Boatwright, a Democrat. Boatwright may run for lieutenant governor next year. Should he win, this district could go to either party in a special election.

District 8 (62%D-23%R) — The southern part of San Francisco and the northern portion of San Mateo County, including Daly City, South San Francisco, Pacifica, Millbrae, Burlingame and Hillsborough. Veteran Democrat John Foran of San Francisco is made safer than ever by the alterations to his district. OUTLOOK FOR 1982: Foran should be around for a while.

District 9 (61%D-25%R) — The Alameda County communities of Berkeley, Emeryville, Piedmont, Alameda and the bulk of Oakland, plus the Contra Costa County communities of Lafayette, Orinda, Moraga and Kensington. This district is similar to the one now represented by Democrat Nicholas C. Petris of Oakland, who will probably not seek another term in 1984. The district has a large black population, and there is a strong chance that this area will produce Northern California's first black senator.

District 10 (59%D-28%R) — The Alameda County cities of San Leandro, Hayward, Pleasanton, Livermore, Union City, Newark, Fremont and a portion of East Oakland. Democrat John Holmdahl has been invincible in his many years as a senator from Alameda County, but he may be given a judgeship. Democratic Assemblyman Bill Lockyer covets the seat. OUTLOOK FOR 1982: Whether Holmdahl or Lockyer is the Democratic standard bearer, the Republicans may make a stiff challenge with Assemblyman Gib Marguth, who may get redistricted out of his seat. The area normally votes Democratic.

District 11 (46%D-42%R) — Southern San Mateo County and the western portion of Santa Clara County (Los Gatos, Palo Alto, Los Altos, Cupertino). Republican incumbents Dan O'Keefe and Marz Garcia both come from this area. But their terms expire in 1982, and this district will not be contested until 1984. Eventually, it will be represented by a Republican, probably not either of them.

District 12 (55%D-33%R) — All of Stanislaus County and portions of Santa Clara County (east San Jose, Morgan Hill and Milpitas). This district was supposedly made to order for conservative Assembly Democrat Alister McAlister of San Jose. But can he win a Democratic primary against a Stanislaus County opponent? And won't the Republicans go all out to win the seat? OUTLOOK FOR 1982: Democrat McAlister has the edge, but anything can happen in a district like this, which has no precedent.

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District 13 (56%D-29%R) — The heart of Santa Clara County, including most of San Jose, plus Santa Clara, Sunnyvale and Mountain View. With a heavy Hispanic population, this district looks reasonably safe for Democrats, especially if the veteran Al Alquist keeps rolling along.

District 14 (54%D-35%R) — Mariposa, Merced, Madera and San Luis Obispo counties, eastern Santa Barbara County, and western Fresno County (including the western portion of the city of Fresno). This district is heavily agricultural and made to order for Republican Caucus Chairman Ken Maddy of Fresno. It is one of the longest districts in the state and may be subject to court challenge. OUTLOOK FOR 1982: The Democratic registration is meaningless. This is ideal for Maddy.

District 15 (55%D-37%R) — Tulare County and eastern Fresno County, including the eastern part of the city of Fresno, Clovis, Sanger, Reedley, Fowler, Parlier and Selma. Incumbent Rose Ann Vuich can hold this seat for the Democrats; if she goes, it is up for grabs.

District 16 (57%D-34%R) — Kern and Kings counties, the Barstow area of San Bernardino County, and parts of Los Angeles County (the eastern part of the Antelope Valley and parts of Pasadena and Altadena). This district is bound to be attacked in court because it connects the blacks in Pasadena with the farmers of Kings County, with all of Kern County in between. Incumbent Democrat Walter Stiern is thus braced against a possible attack from Republican Assemblyman Don Rogers. And the Democrats have a better chance holding the district through the '80s. OUTLOOK FOR 1982: If this district stands up in court, it should be carried by a Democrat.

District 17 (51%D-34%R) — Santa Cruz and San Benito counties, part of Monterey County (Soledad, Carmel, Monterey, Salinas), and the Gilroy-South San Jose portion of Santa Clara County. Democrat Henry Mello won his seat by a handful of votes last year. This apportionment is designed to help him keep it, and the plan should work.

District 18 (50%D-36%R) — Coastal areas of Ventura, Santa Barbara and Los Angeles counties, plus much of the inland area of Ventura County; includes communities of Port Hueneme, Oxnard, Ventura, Santa Paula, Carpinteria, Santa Barbara, Lompoc, Guadelupe, Malibu and Topanga-Woodland Hills. This district, now held by Democrat Omer Rains, was not improved for the majority party. It has a strong environmentalist bent but can go to either party. OUTLOOK FOR 1982: Whether or not Rains seeks re-election, this seat can be considered marginal. Rains has indicated he may run for attorney general. Assemblyman Gary Hart of Santa Barbara might be the Democrats' strongest candidate.

District 19 (45%D-45%R) — The West San Fernando Valley (Hidden Hills, Chatsworth, Granada Hills and Canoga Park), the Newhall-West Antelope Valley region, and the Ventura County communities of Simi Valley, Thousand Oaks and Camarillo. This area is now represented by Republican Ed Davis, and it isn't about to go Democratic.

District 20 (60%D-30%R) — Most of the San Fernando Valley north of the Ventura Freeway, including Van Nuys, Reseda, Panorama City, Mission Hills, Pacoima and San Fernando. Democrat Alan Robbins used to be the darling of this area, and he may yet be. What effect did his sex-charge trial have on the voters in his district? OUTLOOK FOR 1982: Robbins may be tested in the Democratic primary, and he probably will be on the Republican target list. The district favors a Democrat.

District 21 (39%D-53%R) — A large Los Angeles County district including Arcadia, Monrovia, Duarte, Bradbury, Sierra Madre, part of Pasadena, Temple City, Glendale, San Marino, Sunland, Lancaster and Palmdale. Technically, the incumbent in this area is Republican Newton Russell. But Bill Richardson has indicated he will oppose Russell in the GOP primary rather than take the enormous district assigned to him. In any event, the district is solidly Republican.

District 22 (59%D-30%R) — The Los Angeles County areas of Encino, Sherman Oaks, Beverly Hills, Santa Monica, Westwood, Culver City and Brentwood. Democrat Alan Sieroty could hardly be given a safer constituency. OUTLOOK FOR 1982: The Republicans won't make a serious run at Sieroty.

District 23 (60%D-28%R) — The Los Angeles County communities of Burbank, Hollywood, West Hollywood, Silver Lake and Universal City. This show-biz territory belongs to Senate leader David Roberti, and no Republican is about to take it away.

District 24 (68%D-22%R) — The East Los Angeles area, Eagle Rock, Maywood, Commerce, Vernon, South Pasadena. With a strong Hispanic majority (71 percent), Democrat Alex Garcia has nothing to fear from a Republican. OUTLOOK FOR 1982: A Democrat Latino should represent this area in the '80s.

District 25 (44%D-46%R) — Inyo and Mono counties, wide-open parts of San Bernardino County (Big Bear Lake, Lake Arrowhead and Upland), and a portion of Los Angeles County (La Verne, San Dimas, Glendora, Azusa). Bill Richardson was assigned this district, but he may choose to run in District 21. He could win the seat, but he would have to work new territory. The Democratic plan was to keep him so busy working on re-election that he wouldn't be able to strike at Democrats around the state. Richardson is smart and tough enough to do both.

District 26 (64%D-27%R) — The Los Angeles County communities of Alhambra, San Gabriel, Monterey Park, Rosemead, Montebello, Pico Rivera, El Monte, Irwindale, Baldwin Park and La Puente. This district, 54 percent Hispanic, is similar to the one now represented by Democrat Joe Montoya. OUTLOOK FOR 1982: Montoya need only worry about a strong challenge in the June primary.

District 27 (82%D-11%R) — This Los Angeles County district is heavily black and covers Watts, Huntington Park, Bell, Cudahy, and part of Compton. Incumbent Bill Greene is never tested. No Republican can win this seat, one of the safest in the state for the Democrats.

District 28 (72%D-19%R) — Southwest central Los Angeles, Inglewood, Hawthorne, Venice and Marina Del Rey. This district is heavily black (about 50 percent) and always Democratic. OUTLOOK FOR 1982: Incumbent Diane Watson should have no trouble.

District 29 (48%D-42%R) — The heart of the Los Angeles County coast, including Manhattan Beach, the Palos Verdes Peninsula, San Pedro and Long Beach. Only a Republican can win this seat, but there may be some competition in the GOP primary. The incumbent is Bob Beverly, but incumbent Ollie Speraw also lives in the district. So does Assemblyman Gerald Felando, who is examining the territory.

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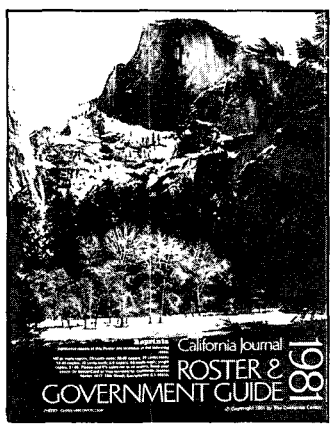

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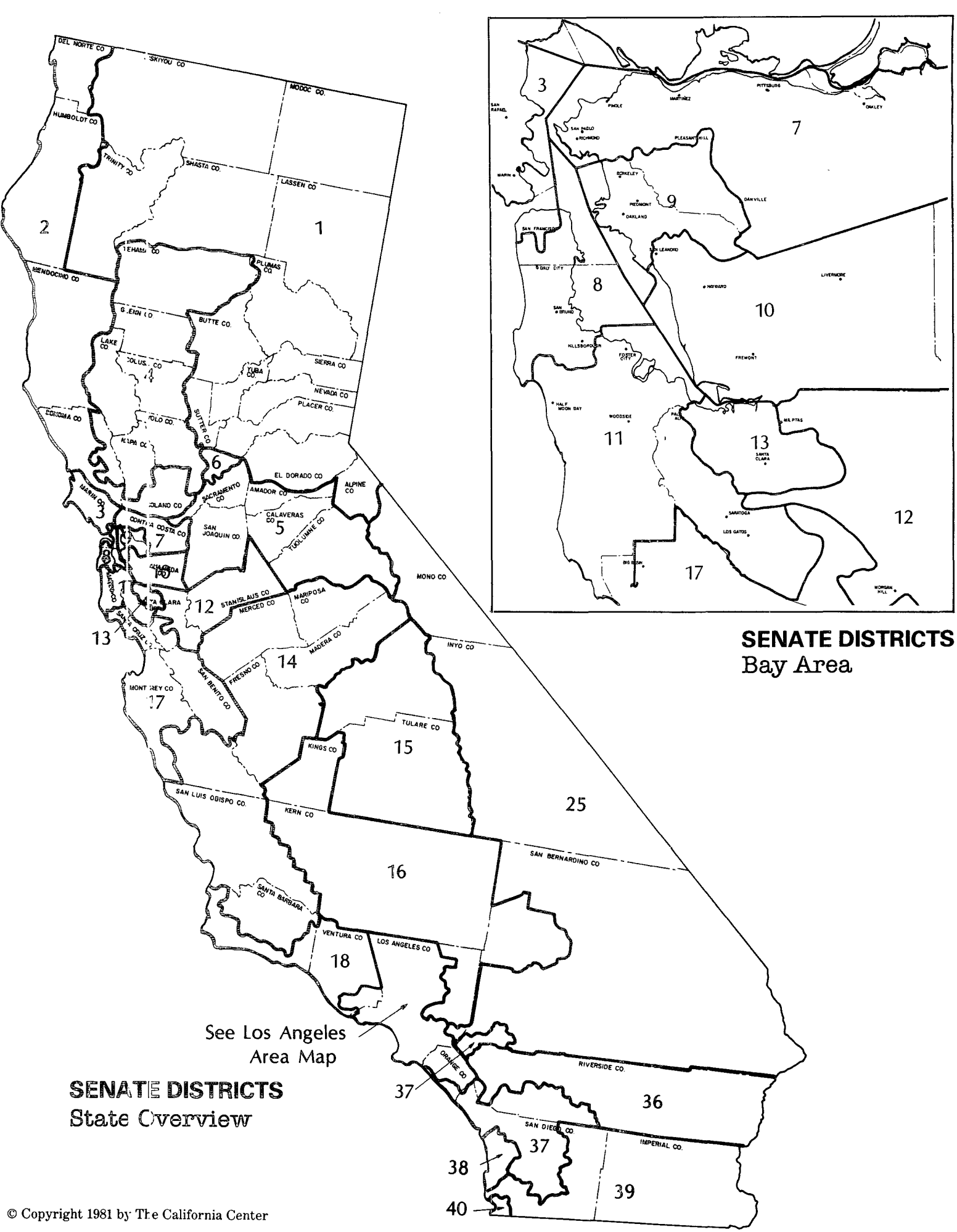

SENATE DISTRICTS
Bay Area

SENATE DISTRICTS
State Overview

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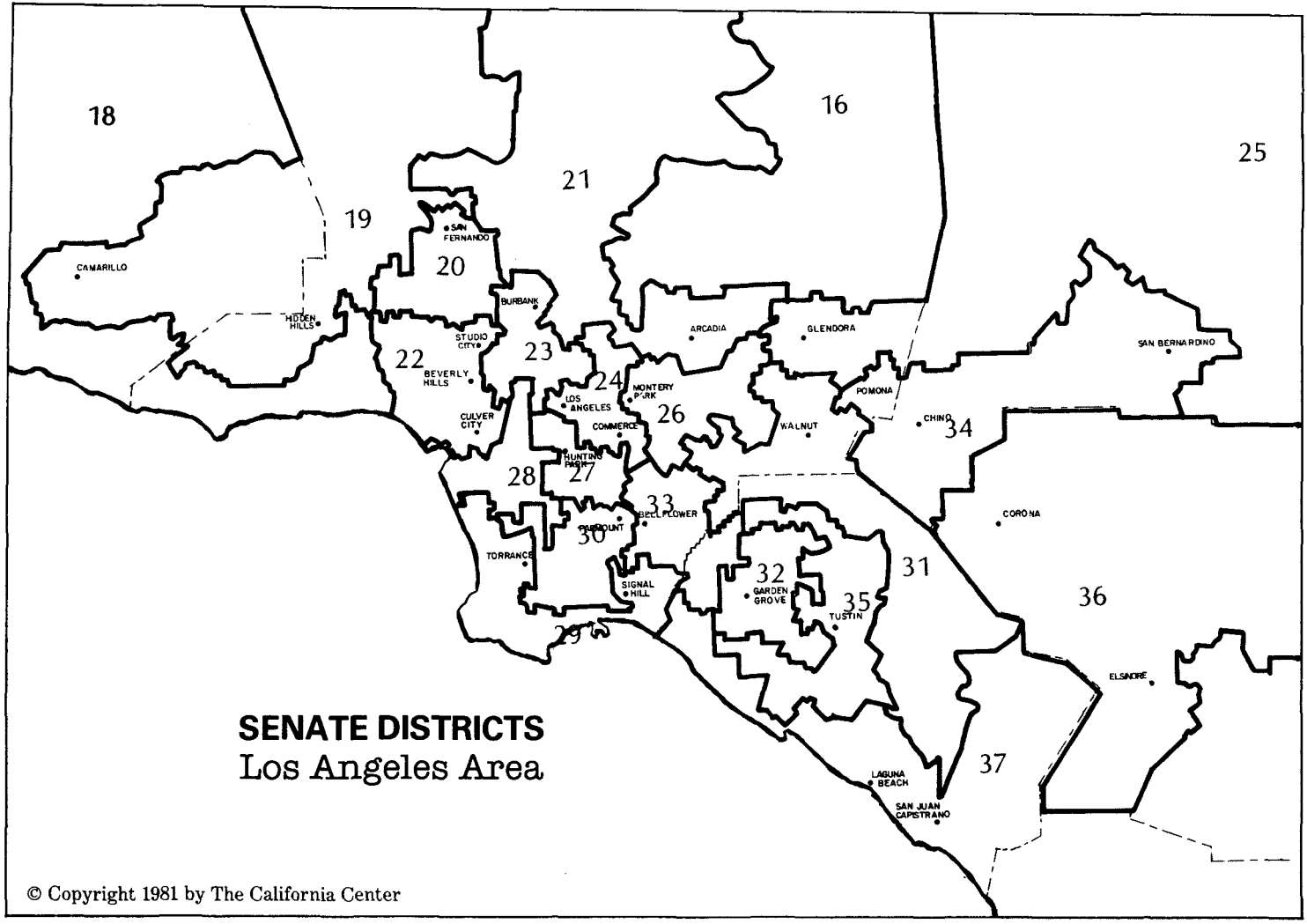

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District 30 (70%D-21%R) — The Los Angeles County communities of Gardena, Lawndale, Lynwood, Carson, Harbor City, part of Long Beach and part of Compton. The veteran Democrat Ralph Dills represents this area, which should remain Democratic whether or not he runs. OUTLOOK FOR 1982: Dills exchanged some territory with Bill Greene late in the redistricting game to prevent the area from becoming too dangerous in the Democratic primary because of a minority overload. Dills probably will run and win.

District 31 (43%D-47%R) — The La Mirada, Whittier, West Covina and La Habra Heights area of Los Angeles County, plus the adjoining Orange County communities of La Habra, Brea, Yorba Linda, and a large section of southeast Orange County (including El Toro). Bill Campbell might as well have drawn these lines for himself. It is just about the perfect district for him. And it will remain Republican should Campbell depart.

District 32 (51%D-36%R) — The Orange County communities of Westminster, Garden Grove, Stanton and Orange, plus parts of Fullerton, Anaheim and Santa Ana. There is no incumbent in this district, except perhaps Republican John Schmitz (who has announced plans to run for the United States Senate). This district is supposedly ideal for Assembly Democrat Richard Robinson. It is 28 percent Hispanic. OUTLOOK FOR 1982: Robinson is the early favorite, but Schmitz could change his mind and make things mighty interesting. The Republicans won't let this district go by default.

District 33 (58%D-33%R) — Portions of Los Angeles and Orange counties, including Downey, Norwalk, Bellflower, Santa Fe Springs, Artesia, Cerritos, Lakewood, Hawaiian Gardens, Buena Park, Cypress and Los Alamitos. This blue-collar district is supposedly ideal for Democratic Caucus Chairman Paul Carpenter. But Carpenter might strike it rich in a statewide campaign and not run in 1984. Republican Ollie Speraw might try his luck in this district, which is hardly famous for the loyalty of its Democrats.

District 34 (57%D-31%R) — The Los Angeles County city of Pomona, most of the city of San Bernardino, part of Rancho Cucamonga, plus Chino, Fontana, Ontario and Colton. This relatively compact district gives incumbent Democrat Ruben Ayala a little more security. OUTLOOK FOR 1982: The Republicans might try to target this district, but Ayala appears safe (especially after his authorship of the Peripheral Canal bill).

District 35 (38%D-49%R) — The Orange County communities of Fountain Valley, Costa Mesa and Tustin, plus parts of Santa Ana, Anaheim and Fullerton. This highly Republican district is earmarked for Republican John Briggs, who wants to be a leader of the Senate. (He won't be if this redistricting plan goes into effect.)

District 36 (50%D-38%R) — Most of Riverside with the exception of the southwestern portion, put into District 37. Although the registration statistics make the district look marginal, Republican strategists concede that the lines give incumbent Democrat Bob Presley a much better chance at re-election. OUTLOOK FOR 1982: The GOP may make Presley a target, but he is a law-and-order Democrat who will be mighty hard to gun down.

District 37 (37%D-50%R) — Portions of Orange, Riverside and San Diego counties, including Hemet, Idyllwild, Murrieta, Newport Beach, Laguna Beach, San Juan Capistrano, San Clemente, Seal Beach, Oceanside, Escondido and El Cajon. Theoretically, this district should belong to Schmitz. But it was numbered so that it is not contested until 1984. It will go Republican then, but it is anybody's guess who will have the inside track. It could draw Schmitz or Speraw.

District 38 (39%D-41%R) — The San Diego County communities of Carlsbad, San Marcos, Oceanside and Del Mar. Incumbent Republican Bill Craven liked this district so well he voted for the reapportionment package on the floor of the Senate. OUTLOOK FOR 1982: Unless Republicans try to take revenge in the primary, Craven should keep his seat without working very hard.

District 39 (44%D-41%R) — All of Imperial County, plus the San Diego County cities of Coronado and La Mesa — and a piece of the city of San Diego. Republican Jim Ellis should like this district, which surrounds the Democratic 40th.

District 40 (56%D-27%R) — Downtown San Diego, Lemon Grove, National City, Imperial Beach, Chula Vista. This is the only solid Democratic section of San Diego. With incumbent Jim Mills giving up the seat, Democratic Assemblyman Wadie Deddeh is the early favorite. OUTLOOK FOR 1982: Deddeh has been angling for this seat for years. He should get it.

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Assembly:
The Republican reward

Willie Brown assumed the speakership of the Assembly for the 1981-82 session only because he forged a coalition with the Republican caucus. It might have been assumed that the partnership with Brown would have purchased the GOP some protection in the redrawing of district lines. Brown kept to the letter of his agreement with Republican leader Carol Hallett: He gave her all the tools for an expensive, computerized analysis of all reapportionment plans. But when the time came to deciding which incumbents would be fed to the lions, all the victims were Republicans. So much for a coalition speakership. Brown is now a Democratic speaker.

The Republicans had hoped that the Democrats would be willing to share the pain in the contraction of districts in the urban part of Los Angeles County. But the plan passed by Assembly Democrats made both victims Republicans, Gerald Felando and Bill Ivers. In the north, it would have been relatively simple to save both Eastbay Republicans, but Bill Baker and Gib Marguth were placed in the same district. The Democrats also gave Republican Don Rogers of Bakersfield a very difficult district to defend and forced Marian LaFollette to move her residence to remain within her district.

Two Democrats lost districts, but both had plans to run for other offices. Leo McCarthy will run for lieutenant governor, and Alister McAlister of San Jose probably will try to win an open state Senate seat. Hispanics were elated with the Assembly lines, which give Latino candidates more opportunities to win seats. Chairman Richard Alatorre of the Elections and Reapportionment Committee could hardly have afforded to anger his own constituency by dividing Hispanic communities, as has been done in the past. Yet, the Hispanic district now represented by Assemblywoman Sally Tanner was altered to make it somewhat less likely that a Latino will win the seat.

If the Assembly plan goes into effect, there is little doubt that the Democrats will retain control of the Assembly. There are probably 41 safe Democratic seats under the bill. But there are also a surprising number of marginal districts which could be won by candidates of either party. It is quite possible that there would be little change from the present 49-31 Democratic majority following the next election.

Compared to the Senate and congressional plans, the Assembly apportionment is considered relatively safe from court challenge because most of the districts make geographical sense. Most are compact and do not make artificial detours such as those in the congressional district designed for John Burton of San Francisco or the Senate constituency of Walter Stiern of Bakersfield.

Perhaps the one exception is the "wishbone" district supposedly created for Mayor Phil Isenberg of Sacramento. The district includes an irregularly shaped piece of Sacramento County, plus Antioch in Contra Costa County. The best justification for the construction of the district is that most of its residents live in close proximity to the Sacramento or San Joaquin River.

As usual, most of the marginal districts are located in agricultural areas. The Republicans feel that some Democratic incumbents in the San Joaquin Valley may have been hurt more than they realize by reapportionment, and they could become prime targets.

Here is a rundown of the districts with approximate party registrations, geographical description and political outlook:

District 1 (54%D-35%R) — Siskiyou, Modoc, Shasta, Lassen, Tehama, Glenn, Trinity and Plumas counties, plus part of Butte County (Biggs, Gridley). Made to order for incumbent Republican Stan Statham, the main criticism of this district is the way it surrounds most of the city of Chico. OUTLOOK: Safe for Statham.

District 2 53%D-27%R) — Del Norte, Humboldt, Mendocino and the Russian River area of Sonoma County. Democratic Caucus Chairman Doug Bosco's status is solidified with this apportionment, but the district might go Republican should he seek higher office. OUTLOOK: Beautiful for Bosco.

District 3 (49%D-34%R) — Sierra, Nevada, Yuba, Sutter, Colusa, and part of Butte County (including Chico and Oroville). With the removal of Placer County from the district of freshman Republican Wally Herger, this becomes a relatively safe GOP seat. OUTLOOK: A home for Herger.

District 4 (59%D-28%R) — All of Solano County and the southern part of Yolo County, including Davis. Democrat Tom Hannigan would lose his Sacramento precincts and the Woodland portion of Yolo County. OUTLOOK: Heavenly for Hannigan.

District 5 (54%D-34%R) — The southern portion of Placer County (Roseville and Auburn) and northeastern Sacramento County. This district is difficult to analyze because the incumbent, Democrat Jean Moorhead, was elected as a Republican in a Democratic district and then switched parties. The district is not as Democratic as her old one, and the GOP is bound to seek revenge. OUTLOOK: Possible Republican pickup, but Moorhead is personally popular in the area.

District 6 (57%D-32%R) — Central Sacramento County. The district of Assemblyman Leroy Greene is changed in two respects; he picks up a piece Carmichael and loses a portion of Curtis Park. The district still has a distinctly Democratic flavor, but Greene is weakened somewhat in order to create the "wishbone" district for Mayor Phil Isenberg of Sacramento. OUTLOOK: Not quite as safe, but still good for Greene.

District 7 (53%D-35%R) — Mono, Calaveras, Tuolumne, El Dorado and Alpine counties, the rural southwestern portion of Sacramento County and much of Placer County (Lincoln and the area east of Auburn). Democrat Norman Waters is probably a little better off in this agricultural — and thus marginal — district. Nevertheless, the Republicans may find a candidate who can give Waters a rough time. OUTLOOK: Waters should win, but the district is difficult for a Democrat despite the registration.

District 8 (56%D-32%R) — Lake and Napa counties, the Woodland area of Yolo County and the vineyards of Sonoma County. The Democratic registration is deceptive in this wine-rich region. The incumbent, Republican Don Sebastiani, won in a more difficult district in 1980, and he's a tough campaigner. OUTLOOK: Vintage Sebastiani.

District 9 (49%D-34%R) — Marin County and the Rohnert Park-Cotati-Petaluma section of Sonoma County. This district is identical to the one now represented by Republican Bill Filante, who figures to be a constant Democratic target. Democrat Anne Charles, who lost to Filante last year, may try again. OUTLOOK: Unless there is a Democratic trend, Filante should be favored.

District 10 (59%D-31%R) — Portions of Sacramento, San Joaquin and Contra Costa counties, including Del Paso Heights, downtown Sacramento, Land Park, Galt, Elk Grove, Lodi and Antioch. This is the so-called "wishbone" district created in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta area for the rumored benefit of Mayor Phil Isenberg of Sacramento. But Isenberg also has a state Senate seat that is attractive, and the area is crawling with political animals. There is no telling what will happen, except that the winner should be a Democrat. OUTLOOK: All eyes on Isenberg.

District 11 (65%D-34%R) — The Contra Costa County bayfront area from Richmond to Pittsburg. Freshman Bob Campbell was given a solid Democratic district with a heavy minority representation. OUTLOOK: Democratic for a decade.

District 12 (59%D-25%R) — The cities of Berkeley, El Cerrito, Pleasant Hill and a piece of Concord. Democrat Tom Bates may not seek re-election, but he won't have to worry about the Republican opposition if he does. His district has been made much safer. OUTLOOK: A breeze for Bates or another Democratic nominee.

District 13 (69%D-18%R) — The city of Alameda, the town of Emeryville and most of Oakland. Heavily black and overwhelmingly Democratic, Elihu Harris will have no difficulty keeping his seat. OUTLOOK: Harris can't be hurt.

District 14 (63%D-25%R) — The cities of San Leandro and Hayward, part of Oakland and the Castro Valley area. Political pro Bill Lockyer is moving farther south in Alameda County, but he retains a safe Democratic constituency. OUTLOOK: Locked up for Lockyer, if he runs for re-election. Lockyer would like to run for the state Senate. In that case, the district should remain Democratic.

District 15 (44%D-48%R) — The Contra Costa County communities of Walnut

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Creek, Moraga, Lafayette, Orinda, Danville and San Ramon, plus the Livermore-Pleasanton portion of Alameda County. This district combines the Republican strength of two GOP incumbents, Bill Baker and Gib Marguth. Baker has such a heavy advantage that Marguth will probably run for another office — perhaps for the state Senate. OUTLOOK: Beautiful for Baker.

District 16 (64%D-16%R) — The eastern portion of San Francisco. Incumbent Art Agnos is a professional politician who is so safe he can devote much of his energies to other campaigns, including that of his former boss, Leo McCarthy, for lieutenant governor. OUTLOOK: Another win for Agnos.

District 17 (58%D-22%R) — Central and northwestern San Francisco, including the Richmond District, Golden Gate Park and Pacific Heights. Speaker Willie Brown would be a fool to give himself something other than a worry-free district. The speaker is anything but a fool. OUTLOOK: The speaker shall survive.

District 18 (57%D-28%R) — The Alameda County cities of Union City, Newark and Fremont, plus the Milpitas area of Santa Clara County. This is a new district carved primarily from areas represented by Republican Gib Marguth and Democrat Alister McAlister. It is blue-collar Democrat, and it is possible that Marguth could win the seat. But he would have to move into the district and face a favored Democrat. A leading Democrat from Fremont probably will emerge as the favorite. OUTLOOK: Democratic but doubtful.

District 19 (62%D-25%R) — The cities of Daly City, South San Francisco, San Bruno, Pacifica, a portion of Millbrae and the southwest sector of San Francisco. Democratic Rules Committee Chairman Lou Papan, target of a GOP blitz in 1980, now has a comfortable home. He lost some Republican territory and replaced it with San Francisco precincts. OUTLOOK: A pushover for Papan.

District 20 (45%D-43%R) — The San Mateo County cities of Burlingame, Hillsborough, San Mateo, Foster City, Belmont, San Carlos, and Half Moon Bay. Republican Caucus Chairman Bob Naylor moves northward, but he has no worries. OUTLOOK: Naylor is one of the more talented young Republicans, and this district will keep him in office.

District 21 (51%D-32%R) — The cities of Palo Alto and Mountain View, plus parts of Sunnyvale and Redwood City. This area, now represented by Democrat Byron Sher, is often called by its industrial name, Silicon Valley. Sher, a Stanford law professor, is a freshman. The area likes environmentalists and moderates of either party. The Republicans might try to take Sher if the right kind of nominee comes out of the campus/computer community. OUTLOOK: The GOP might be able to sack Sher but it will take a Pete McCloskey clone to do it.

District 22 (43%D-44%R) — The cities of Los Altos, Cupertino, Saratoga, Los Gatos and New Almaden in Santa Clara County. Incumbent Ernest Konnyu has a solid Republican constituency. He need only fear a challenge in the Republican primary. OUTLOOK: Konnyu can't complain.

District 23 (61%D-25%R) — Alviso, the eastern area of San Jose and the city of Santa Clara. Democrat John Vasconcellos is made safer in this compact district with a 32 percent Hispanic population. OUTLOOK: Victory for Vasco.

District 24 (55%-31%R) — The southern portion of San Jose, with extensions into Berryessa, Alum Rock, Evergreen and Cambrian Park. Democrat Dom Cortese loses agricultural Gilroy, Morgan Hill and San Benito County and is thus more secure. OUTLOOK: More comfortable for Cortese.

District 25 (55%D-35%R) — San Benito County, Gilroy and Morgan Hill in Santa Clara County, the western half of Merced County and the Salinas region of Monterey County. This is a new district with a population that is about one-third Latino. It is agricultural and thus politically unpredictable. The registration statistics give the Democrats an edge, but the Republicans rate the district wide open. OUTLOOK: A prime partisan battleground.

District 26 (59%D-32%R) — The heart of San Joaquin County, including the city of Stockton. Democrat Pat Johnston won his seat in a highly controversial recount, and he will probably be a GOP target. Even though he may have been hurt a bit by some loss of territory, Johnston is recognized as one of the more capable freshmen and he will be difficult to dislodge. Democratic loyalty is low and that's his biggest problem. OUTLOOK: Strange things happen in the politics of San Joaquin; otherwise Johnston might be considered a likely repeater.

District 27 (56%D-34%R) — Stanislaus County plus the Atwater-Snelling region of Merced County. The Republicans feel that Democrat John Thurman has been weakened, not so much by boundary changes as by his stands on the Medfly. But the GOP has talked about tackling Thurman before without getting close to beating him. OUTLOOK: Thurman will be tough to topple.

District 28 (50%D-32%R) — Santa Cruz County and northwest Monterey County, including the city of Monterey and part of Carmel. Democrat Sam Farr will have basically the same constituency, which has been voting Democratic of late. The registration statistics give Republicans hope, but the GOP needs a super candidate to overcome the Farr name in the Monterey Bay area. OUTLOOK: Fair for Farr.

District 29 (45%D-42%R) — A Monterey-San Luis Obispo-Santa Barbara coastal area, including King City, Paso Robles, Morro Bay, Pismo Beach and Santa Maria. Even with Republican leader Carol Hallett a likely candidate for lieutenant governor, this district should remain in Republican control. OUTLOOK: Regardless of the candidates, chalk up the 29th for the GOP.

District 30 (62%D-29%R) — All of Kings County, plus portions of Fresno, Madera and Merced, including the communities of Chowchilla, Madera, Mendota and part of the city of Fresno. The Republicans feel that incumbent Democrat Jim Costa has been weakened, and that Kings County could become his Achilles heel. But the district has a heavy Democratic registration, and Costa knows how to work the territory. OUTLOOK: Costa could be targeted, but he should survive.

District 31 (61%D-31%R) — Central Fresno County, including most of the city of Fresno and surrounding cities of Clovis, Parlier, Sanger, Reedley and Selma. With incumbent Rick Lehman supposedly headed for Congress, the Democrats made sure that his seat would be safe for the party. Republicans are not optimistic about this seat, even without an incumbent. OUTLOOK: As valley districts go, this one is quite Democratic.

District 32 (48%D-42%R) — Mariposa County and the mountainous portions of Tulare, Fresno and Madera counties. This district, which contains no large cities, is now represented by Republican Gordon Duffy who has his eyes on a race for secretary of state. With or without Duffy, the GOP should hold the seat. OUTLOOK: Goshen, Orosi and Porterville will go with the GOP.

District 33 (58%D-29%R) — The western portions of Tulare and Kern Counties, including a part of Bakersfield, Delano, Taft and the city of Tulare. By splitting Bakersfield and by constructing this district artfully, the Democratic leadership has placed incumbent Republican Don Rogers in jeopardy. On paper, this is a heavily Latino Democratic district. Rogers may be able to hold it, or he may opt for larger game. OUTLOOK: Risky for Rogers.

District 34 (52%D-30%R) — Inyo County, northern San Bernardino County, eastern Kern County including a large portion of the city of Bakersfield. Rogers' loss is Republican Phil Wyman's gain. Wyman used to have a marginal district; now he has a safe one. OUTLOOK: Wyman will be a winner.

District 35 (52%D-39%R) — Urban Santa Barbara County and a portion of Ventura County (Santa Paula and a part of Oxnard). Democrat Gary Hart, already safe, was given an improved district. Should Hart depart, an environmentalist Republican could win the seat. OUTLOOK: Democratic with Hart, questionable without.

District 36 (47%D-42%R) — The Ventura County area that covers the city of Ventura, Camarillo, Thousand Oaks and portions of Oxnard and Port Hueneme. Republican Charles Imbrecht can have this district for as long as he wishes, but he may try bigger game. OUTLOOK: Reserved for a Republican.

District 37 (47%D-44%R) — The Ventura County cities of Simi Valley, Filmore and Ojai, Lompoc in Santa Barbara County, the Lancaster-Palmdale region of Los Angeles County and the wide-open spaces in between. This is a safe district for incumbent Republican Cathie Wright. OUTLOOK: Wright will fly in this so-called "condor" district (because of location and shape).

District 38 (49%D-42%R) — The Los Angeles County communities of Westlake Village, Chatsworth, Sunland-Tujunga, Newhall, Northridge and Hidden Hills. Republican Marian LaFollette gets a smaller district that she can still win with ease — even though she doesn't live in it. Her home community of Malibu was removed, forcing her to establish residence elsewhere. OUTLOOK: LaFollette won't be the first politician to play the new-address game.

District 39 (61%D-30%R) — The San Fernando Valley area around the city of San Fernando. Freshman Democrat Richard Katz should have no trouble winning a second term. OUTLOOK: Katz will win without clawing very hard.

District 40 (59%D-31%R) — The San Fernando Valley area anchored by Van Nuys. Foxy veteran Tom Bane has represented this area for many years. He knows how to raise the money to massage his constituents. OUTLOOK: A breeze for Bane.

District 41 (42%D-50%R) — La Canada, La Canada-Flintridge, La Crescenta and most of Altadena. Two Republicans, Pat Nolan and Bill Ivers, find themselves in this district. Nolan will survive. OUTLOOK: Rock Republican.

District 42 (40%D-51%R) — South Pasadena, Arcadia, Duarte, Monrovia, Sierra Madre, San Marino and a portion of Pasadena. Incumbent Dick Mountjoy has a solid Republican district in the San Gabriel Valley. OUTLOOK: A desert for any Democrat.

District 43 (57%D-34%R) — The Beverly Hills-Studio City-Sherman Oaks areas of Los Angeles County, plus area in Topanga Canyon and Woodland Hills. Democrat Howard Berman now represents this territory, but he appears headed for Congress. Gray Davis, Governor Brown's ex-chief of staff is seeking the seat. But can he

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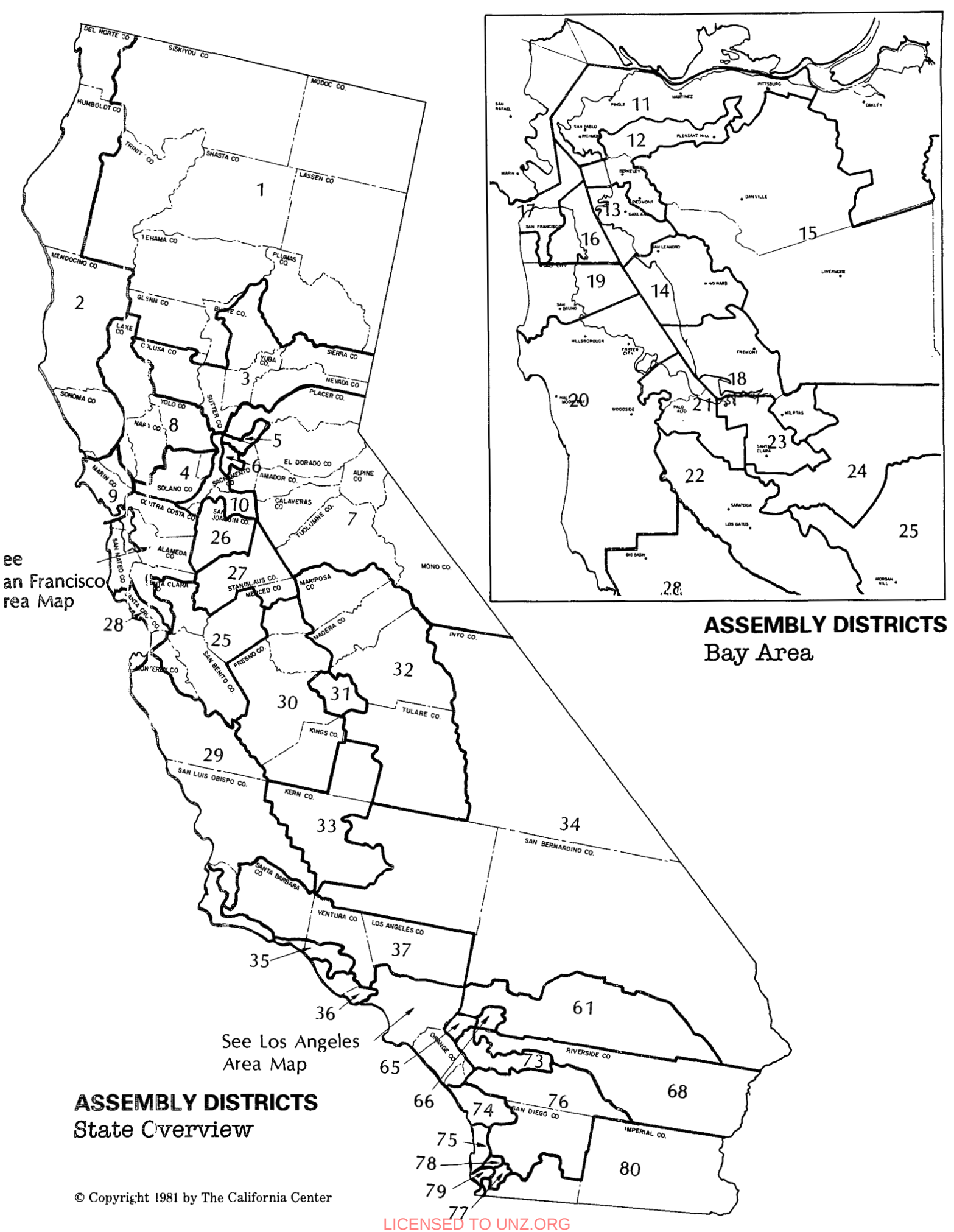

ASSEMBLY DISTRICTS
Bay Area

ASSEMBLY DISTRICTS
State Overview

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win a Democratic primary? OUTLOOK: A Democrat should win, but it might not be Davis.

District 44 (57%D-31%R) — Santa Monica and portions of West Los Angeles, Pacific Palisades and Malibu. Theoretically, this is the district of Democrat Mel Levine, with significant changes. Levine wants to run for Congress. If he does, the big question is whether liberal activist Tom Hayden or one of his associates seeks the seat. The Republicans are planning an all-out assault if Hayden or a colleague wins the Democratic primary. OUTLOOK: Plenty of questions remain to be answered by Levine, Hayden and others before anyone can take a reading on the district.

District 45 (61%D-27%R) — A Hollywood-based district with a heavy Jewish influence. Democrat Herschel Rosenthal should remain the unofficial head of the unofficial Jewish caucus. OUTLOOK: The bagel borough will remain Democratic.

District 46 (56%D-30%R) — The western portion of downtown Los Angeles, a piece of Hollywood and Silverlake. Democratic majority leader Mike Roos is the incumbent, and he's a slick politician who isn't about to give up his seat. OUTLOOK: Heavily Hispanic and Asian, the district is right for Roos.

District 47 (82%D-11%R) — Central Los Angeles, Huntington Park, Bell and Cudahy. This district is overwhelmingly Hispanic and black and cannot be carried by a Republican. OUTLOOK: Incumbent Democrat Teresa Hughes is a shoo-in.

District 48 (83%D-11%R) — The Watts-South Gate area of Los Angeles. This is another black-Hispanic District that elects only Democrats. Incumbent Maxine Waters can remain in the Assembly indefinitely, but she has her eye on Congress. OUTLOOK: Decidedly Democratic.

District 49 (71%D-19%R) — Culver City, a piece of Los Angeles east of Culver City, Marina Del Rey and Venice. By putting Venice in this district represented by Gwen Moore, the Assembly leadership reduced Tom Hayden's chance of winning in the 44th District. The black voter is dominant, and incumbent Gwen Moore should repeat. OUTLOOK: Two more years for Moore.

District 50 (72%D-15%R) — The Inglewood-El Segundo area of Los Angeles. About 60 percent of the population is black, ideal for incumbent Curtis Tucker. OUTLOOK: Only a black Democrat like Tucker can win this seat.

District 51 (44%D-45%R) — Palos Verdes, Torrance, Hermosa Beach, Manhattan Beach and Redondo Beach. Two Republicans, Marilyn Ryan and Gerald Felando found their best precincts in this district. Ryan represents most of the area now and thus has the upper hand. Felando will probably run for another office. OUTLOOK: Ryan should repeat.

District 52 (48%D-44%R) — La Mirada, Walnut, La Habra, a portion of Whittier and some unincorporated territory. Much of this area is now represented by Republican David Stirling, who has indicated that he will run for attorney general. If Stirling changes his mind, he should hold the seat. Otherwise, it will go to another Republican. OUTLOOK: Sterling for the GOP.

District 53 (64%D-25%R) — Gardena, Lawndale, Hawthorne and Carson, plus a portion of the Harbor City-San Pedro area. Much of this area has at times been represented by Republicans, but the incumbent is now Democrat Dick Floyd. The GOP may make a run at freshman Floyd, but he will be hard to dislodge despite a whimsical attitude in Sacramento. OUTLOOK: Floyd is favored.

District 54 (69%D-24%R) — Compton, Paramount, Bellflower and a portion of Lakewood and Long Beach. This district consists of blue-collar Democrats who have been faithful to one-time lobbyist Frank Vicencia. OUTLOOK: Another Vicencia victory.

District 55 (67%D-22%R) — Portions of Pasadena and East Los Angeles. These barrio precincts belong to the man whose name appears as the author of the redistricting plan, Democrat Richard Alatorre. The district is 61 percent Hispanic. Alatorre would like to run for Congress. While he's waiting, he can almost take re-election for granted. OUTLOOK: East Los Angelenos should re-elect Alatorre.

District 56 (78%D-13%R) — Part of East Los Angeles, Commerce, Vernon, Maywood and Bell Gardens. This is the most Hispanic district in the state (79 percent), and incumbent Art Torres can keep it indefinitely. However, he is getting itchy to move up the political ladder. One of these years, he may take a chance. OUTLOOK: Torres is untouchable.

District 57 (62%D-28%R) — The harbor area of Los Angeles and Long Beach, including a stretch along the Los Angeles River. Democrat Dave Elder is the incumbent, and the Republicans think there may be a long-shot chance of unseating him. But Elder knows how to run campaigns and can be tough when he smells political trouble. OUTLOOK: Elder will be alert for any GOP attack.

District 58 (47%D-42%R) — A shoreline area including a piece of Long Beach, Signal Hill and an Orange County strip from Seal Beach to Huntington Beach. By adding a hunk of Orange County to the district of incumbent Dennis Brown, the Democrats made this seat safe for the Republican. OUTLOOK: Much better for Brown.

District 59 (65%D-27%R) — Alhambra, Monterey Park, Montebello, Pico Rivera and a portion of Whittier. This is solid Democratic territory with a 54 percent Latino population. The incumbent is Democrat Marty Martinez, who must worry mainly about his party primary. OUTLOOK: Martinez should manage to win a second term.

District 60 (64%D-27%R) — Industry, Baldwin Park, El Monte, La Puente, Rosemead. There is some resentment in the Hispanic community that this Democratic district with 54 percent Latino population is represented by Sally Tanner. But the Democratic incumbent knows how to work her constituency, and she does not appear in heavy danger. The district was improved slightly for her. OUTLOOK: The primary is Tanner's only potential problem.

District 61 (43%D-46%R) — The San Bernardino County communities of Upland, Rancho Cucamonga, Redlands, Loma Linda, Big Bear, Yucaipa and environs. Republican Bill Leonard saw the shape of his district change considerably, but not its political complexion. Color it Republican. OUTLOOK: Leans heavily to Leonard.

District 62 (47%D-45%R) — Claremont, Covina, Azusa, part of West Covina, Temple City, Glendora. Republican Bill Lancaster had a couple of tough challenges during the last decade. The way this district is crafted, he ought to be able to sail through the next 10 years. OUTLOOK: Lancaster comes out smelling like a rose.

District 63 (62%D-30%R) — Downey, Norwalk, Artesia, Cerritos, Hawaiian Gardens. Incumbent Bruce Young has developed a talent for raising campaign funds and will be hard to beat. His blue-collar district is almost one-third Hispanic. OUTLOOK: Young should be around the Assembly for a while.

District 64 (43%D-36%R) — Fullerton, Brea, La Habra and Placentia, plus parts of Anaheim and Buena Park. This is a safe Republican constituency for Republican Ross Johnson, who aspires to an Assembly leadership position. OUTLOOK: This is part of the GOP heartland of Orange County.

District 65 (55%D-35%R) — Pomona, Chino, a portion of Fontana. This Los Angeles-San Bernardino district has been improved for Democrat Jim Cramer, but it still isn't a sure thing. Cramer may be a prime GOP target. OUTLOOK: The Democrats should hold this seat, but it cannot be rated safe.

District 66 (59%D-29%R) — The entire city of San Bernardino, Colton and a part of Fontana. This district is made to order for Terry Goggin, chairman of the Assembly Criminal Justice Committee. OUTLOOK: Great for Goggin.

District 67 (38%D-51%R) — Tustin, Orange, Yorba Linda, Villa Park and portions of Anaheim and rural Orange County. Freshman Republican John Lewis has one of the most comfortable Republican districts in the state. He's one Bill Richardson supporter who did not take redistricting gas. OUTLOOK: Lewis has the kind of district that can provide him with longevity in the Legislature.

District 68 (55%D-33%R) — The Riverside County communities of Perris, Banning, Beaumont, Desert Hot Springs, Indio, Coachella, Blythe and a large piece of the city of Riverside. The district represented by outspoken Democrat Walter Ingalls has undergone a significant change. Ingalls obtained a more Democratic district by registration, but the Republicans suspect that it is more agricultural and thus less loyal. Ingalls will be a GOP target. The key may be how the Hispanic population (24 percent) votes. OUTLOOK: An interesting test for Ingalls.

District 69 (41%D-45%R) — Costa Mesa, Fountain Valley, Irvine and a portion of Santa Ana and Huntington Beach. Republican Nolan Frizzelle unseated a Democrat last year, now need not worry about retribution. His district is a GOP dandy. OUTLOOK: Frizzelle has few re-election fears.

District 70 (31%D-57%R) — Newport Beach, Laguna Beach, San Juan Capistrano and the inland unincorporated area of Orange County. Marian Bergeson has the most Republican district in the state. The only way a Democrat can win is by a rare fluke, which happened a few years ago. OUTLOOK: Runaway for the Republicans.

District 71 (52%D-37%R) — Westminster, Stanton, La Palma, Cypress, Los Alamitos, plus portions of Buena Park, Anaheim and Garden Grove. Democrat Chet Wray has never won by anything more than a whisker, and the changes in his district may have weakened him. He will definitely be a prime GOP target in 1982, regardless of the outcome of reapportionment. OUTLOOK: Wray looks weak.

District 72 (53%D-35%R) — Portions of Santa Ana, Garden Grove and Anaheim. This district is represented by Democrat Richard Robinson, who is expected to run for the state Senate if the current lines are upheld. The district has been improved somewhat for a Democrat and is 38 percent Hispanic. Nevertheless, this is still Orange County and the district is still marginal in registration. The Republicans may win it if Robinson departs. OUTLOOK: May go Republican without Robinson.

District 73 (48%D-46%R) — The Riverside County areas of Corona, Norco, Hemet, San Jacinto, Palm Springs and a part

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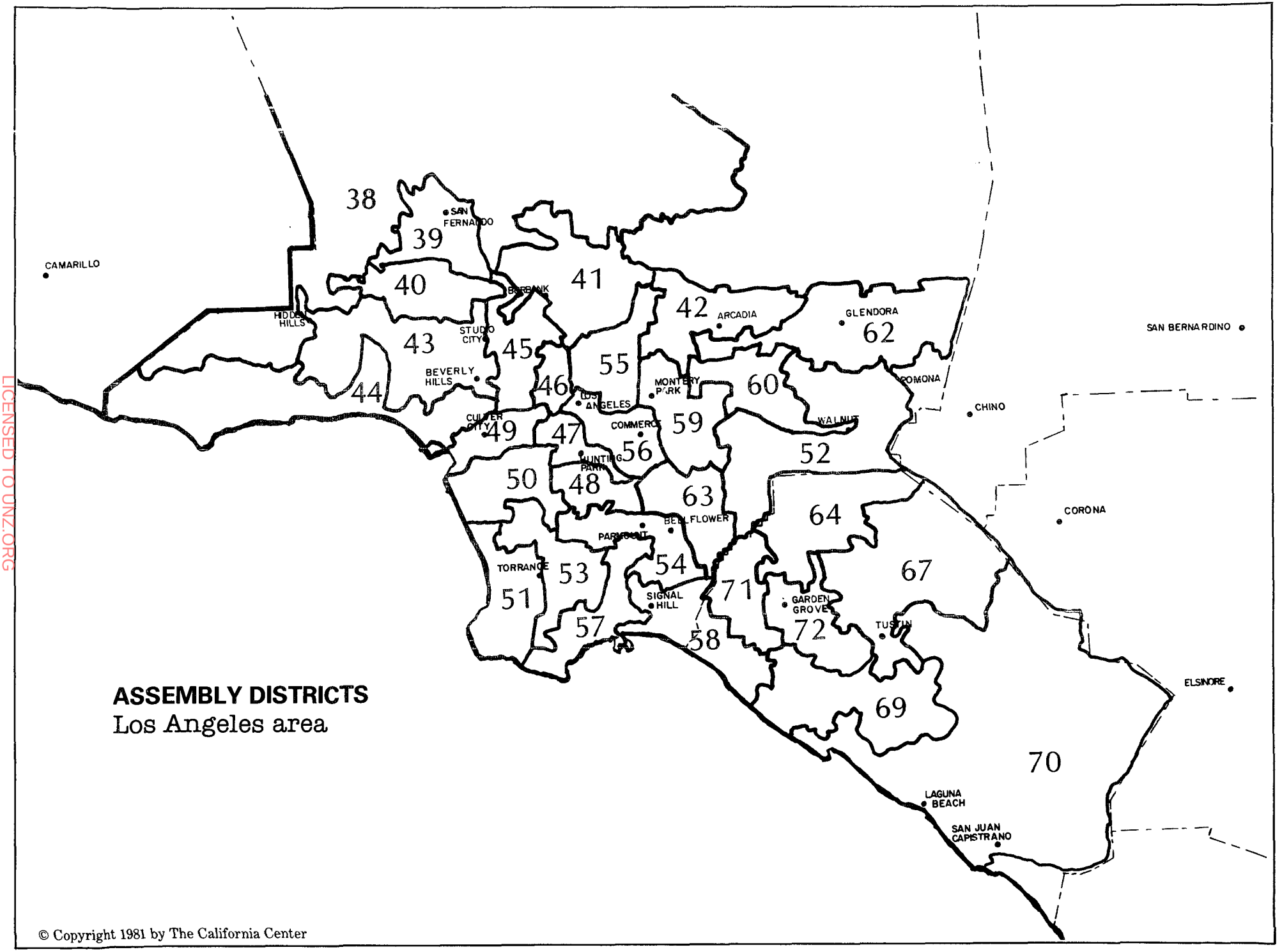

ASSEMBLY DISTRICTS
Los Angeles area

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of the city of Riverside. Republican David Kelley shouldn't have much trouble retaining his seat in this desert district. OUTLOOK: Democrats won't spend much dough contesting this district.

District 74 (37%D-48%R) — San Clemente and Camp Pendleton in Orange County, plus the Oceanside-Carlsbad region of San Diego County. Republican Robert Frazee has an extremely safe district, giving him time to play leadership politics in Sacramento. He also has the option of testing congressional waters, depending upon how the districts finally are drawn. OUTLOOK: Frazee can coast. If he tries to move up, another Republican will replace him.

District 75 (38%D-43%R) — Imperial Beach, Del Mar, Coronado, part of the city of San Diego, La Jolla. This is a new San Diego coastal district that gets mighty narrow as it snakes around downtown San Diego. This district was designed to capture a maximum number of Republicans so that other San Diego County seats might be improved for Democrats. This district will probably elect a moderate, environmentalist Republican, such as Supervisor Roger Hedgecock. OUTLOOK: Wrap up this new baby in moderate Republican clothes.

District 76 (39%D-48%R) — Inland areas of San Diego and Riverside counties, including Santee and Escondido. Probably the best known landmark in this nondescript district is the Wild Animal Park of the San Diego Zoo. In Riverside County, it includes the Indian Wells, Palm Desert and Rancho Mirage areas. There is no doubt that this new district will produce a Republican winner. The competition will be in the GOP primary between the two population centers, Escondido and Palm Desert. OUTLOOK: A fascinating primary and a dull general election.

District 77 (43%D-43%R) — El Cajon, La Mesa and a portion of the city of San Diego. Republican Larry Stirling loses some territory but still has a safe district. OUTLOOK: A golden district for Stirling.

District 78 (47%D-35%R) — The northern portions of the city of San Diego, including Mesa, East San Diego, Balboa Park and Old Town. Democrat Larry Kapiloff has survived for years through personal popularity and public-employee support. Republicans have tried almost every tactic to beat him and have come up short. He has been helped a bit by the loss of coastal precincts and can probably get re-elected. If Kapiloff leaves, the district probably will go Republican. OUTLOOK: Democratic with Kapiloff, probably Republican without him.

District 79 (56%D-28%R) — The southern portions of the city of San Diego, including most of the black and Hispanic neighborhoods. Incumbent Democrat Peter Chacon is now a bit safer, but he never has been in real trouble. OUTLOOK: As usual, Chacon's biggest worry is a heavily financed primary opponent.

District 80 (54%D-33%R) — Imperial County, plus the National City-Chula Vista area of San Diego County. Assuming the incumbent Democrat Wadie Deddeh runs for the state Senate, this district will become a double target. In the primary, the state's Hispanic leaders will try to win the Democratic primary with a Latino candidate. (This district is 41 percent Hispanic.) In the general election, the Republicans will make an all-out effort to take this seat away from the Democrats. OUTLOOK: With Deddeh presumed out, this will be a prime battleground that stretches from the Arizona border to within shooting distance of the Pacific Ocean.

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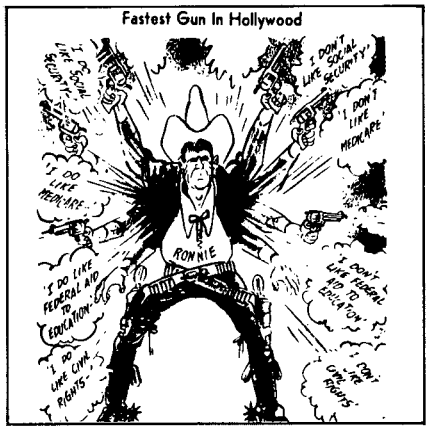
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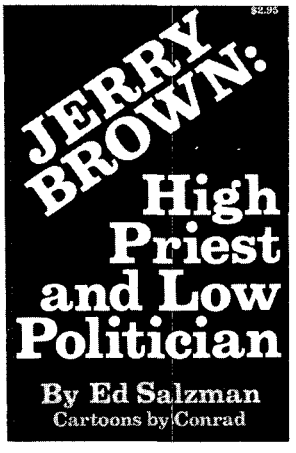

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Legislative ethics: How far have they fallen?

By VIC POLLARD

Woody Allen made a movie a few years ago called *Take the Money and Run.* That title could easily be adapted as the theme of the 1981 session of the California state Legislature.

As the session stumbled to its hectic close, the Legislature's reputation for ethical standards plummeted to its lowest point in years. By mid-summer, hardly a week went by without some revelation in the news media about another piece of special-interest legislation being slipped in quietly to benefit legislators themselves, the industries they work in on the side — or more frequently, fat-cat campaign contributors. At the tail end of the session, the exposés were coming at almost a daily rate.

Winking at conflict-of-interest laws and other ethical standards is nothing new for the Legislature. In fact, it can be argued that the Capitol is cleaner today than at any time before Watergate and the Proposition 9 political-reform initiative of 1974 which imposed a shotgun divorce between lawmakers and free-spending lobbyists. The history of the state includes sordid chapters when the Legislature allowed itself to be ruled outright by kingpin lobbyist Artie Samish and the big railroads.

The record over the last couple of years, however, leads many to fear that the ethical tone in the Legislature is changing significantly as the memory of Watergate fades into history. It's not just that there is a rapidly growing list of lawmakers who have been involved in controversies over apparent conflict of interest. There also appears to be a markedly more hostile attitude toward proposals for ethical reform and the watchdogs whose job is to keep the lawmakers honest, such as the press and the Fair Political Practices Commission (FPPC). In short, the Legislature appears to be edging back toward the old days and the old attitude: Anything goes.

Over the years, the Legislature and the voters have established a system that appears, on the surface, to be tough on conflict of interest. In practice, however, it is so weak that lawmakers are free to do virtually as they wish.

The Legislature has its own statutory Code of Ethics, which provides penalties ranging from censure to jail terms, but the definition of a conflict is so narrowly drawn that it is practically impossible for any enforcement action to be taken. The code is enforced by the Joint Legislative Ethics Committee, but in the 16 years since it was created, the committee has never taken a disciplinary action against a fellow legislator.

Lawmakers involved in conflicts of interest have even less to fear from the FPPC. While the commission has punished a number of legislators for failing to disclose campaign contributions, it is powerless in the field of conflict of interest. The Political Reform Act outlaws conflict of interest, but elected state officials like members of the Legislature are specifically exempted from any penalties for violation of that provision.

In a clear example of a double standard, the FPPC can come down hard on local elected officials and even on appointed state officials who abuse their official positions for their private benefit. In what must be some kind of record, former Fremont Mayor Gene Rhodes agreed to pay a $75,000 fine last year for voting on a land use case in which he failed to disclose his personal interest fully. And David Buck, the former executive director of the state Board of Funeral Directors and Embalmers, was fined $2,000 for failing to disclose that he had received personal loans from funeral directors under his jurisdiction.

Plenty of material

With the FPPC out of the picture, legislators involved in conflicts of interest are left in the enviable position of being judged by their friends and colleagues on the joint committee. The only watchdog available is the press.

The press has had no shortage of material in recent months. Few incidents raised more eyebrows than the circumstances surrounding a package of bills introduced by Democratic Assemblyman Art Agnos of San Francisco and Senator Nicholas Petris of Oakland. Among the most liberal and most conservation-minded members of the Legislature, Agnos and Petris surprised many when they began pushing

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legislation to make it more difficult to file environmental lawsuits against low- and moderate-income housing developments. They argued that the bills were designed to block "frivolous" lawsuits inspired not by environmental motives but by "elitists" trying to keep low-income and minority residents out of middle-class neighborhoods.

It was not long, however, before the *Los Angeles Times* discovered another factor behind the bills. They were originally requested by a developer who regularly makes no-interest or low-interest loans to the two lawmakers for speculation in real estate. The developer, it turned out, was the target of just such a lawsuit. Then *The Sacramento Bee* disclosed that Agnos and Petris themselves are partners in a piece of property that could well be the subject of a similar suit if they ever decide to develop it.

In his defense, Agnos marshalled an impressive group of renters' rights advocates, public-interest lawyers and others who argued that the legislation was crucial to the effort to provide affordable housing for low- and moderate-income families. All of that failed, however, to wash out the sour taste that could have been avoided entirely if the two legislators had kept their hands off the legislation and abstained from voting on it.

When a legislator is facing a vote on an issue in which he or she has a significant personal financial interest, the Code of Ethics requires the lawmaker to abstain or file a letter disclosing the interest. That rarely happens.

There was no such disqualification or disclosure when Democratic Assemblyman Terry Goggin of San Bernardino pushed legislation two years ago providing $5 million in state funds for research on new uses for coal. Gannett News Service revealed that, at the time, Goggin held stock in a firm which, at one point, was an applicant for the research contract and stood to benefit financially from the results of the research.

Goggin was also embroiled in controversy last year when it was reported that he sponsored legislation providing free teletype devices that allow deaf Californians to communicate by telephone. The legislation helped a friend and campaign contributor (Dennis Krieger, who was also involved with the coal firm) make $175,000 in stock brokerage fees from a teletype supplier. Every telephone user in the state is now paying 15 cents a month to finance the purchase of the teletype devices.

One of the most far-reaching pieces of special-interest legislation introduced at the behest of campaign contributors and other politically powerful forces was AB 893 by Assembly Majority Floor Leader Mike Roos of Los Angeles. The bill was described by its supporters as a proposal to cut through red tape and allow the construction of several "new towns" that could help reduce housing costs. On closer inspection, however, the bill proved to be tailored for the benefit of the development firm of Shapell Industries. The company is headed by Nathan Shapell, a Democratic financial angel whose proposal for a big development in the Los Angeles suburb of Thousand Oaks was rejected by local officials because it would violate local zoning ordinances enacted to maintain the quality of the community and slow population growth. The measure was designed to bulldoze aside local development restrictions and turn regulation of that and other "new towns" over to a powerful state commission headed by state Treasurer Jesse Unruh. Unruh twisted arms for the bill in both the Senate and Assembly. A barrage of press criticism made the measure too hot to handle, and Governor Brown vetoed the bill.

(Documents filed with the secretary of state in September — after the legislative session ended — showed that developer Shapell donated more than $51,000 in campaign contributions to 32 Assembly members and 15 senators since January 1st. Only a handful of them opposed the new

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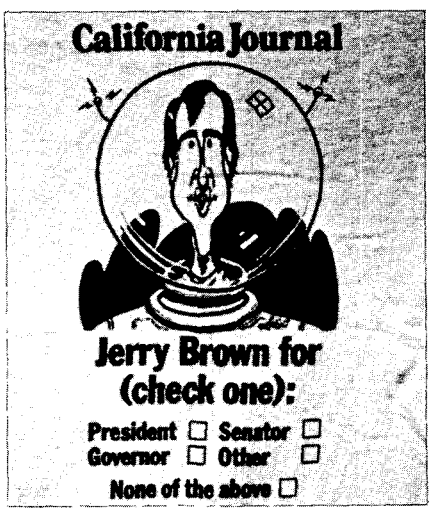

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cities bill or abstained from voting.)

Roos didn't stop there, however, in his assault on Thousand Oaks' zoning restrictions. He was the sponsor of another bill that would, in effect, dictate minimum lot sizes for subdivisions throughout the state. That turned out to be requested by Dayton Realty, another developer turned down in Thousand Oaks.

A number of lawmakers have not been shy about pushing legislation to benefit the industries they work in on the side. This does not fall within the strict interpretation currently given the definition of conflict of interest in the Code of Ethics. It is not considered a conflict if a lawmaker uses his or her official position to benefit a group of which the legislator is a member if the legislator does not benefit any more

than any other member of the group. But the frequency with which this type of legislation is being introduced raises questions in the minds of some about whether the interpretation should be broadened to cover some of the more flagrant abuses.

The most celebrated case involves Democratic Assemblyman Lou Papan of Daly City, an insurance broker who sponsored legislation last year to bar banks from selling insurance. The bill was the No. 1 state legislative priority for the state's insurance industry, and Papan lobbied and bullied the bill through over a veto by Governor Jerry Brown. Not surprisingly, the chief legislative opponent of the bill was Republican Senator Marz Garcia of Menlo Park, a top executive with Bank of America before joining the Legislature.

Eyebrows have also been raised by similar situations that don't necessarily involve specific legislation. Assembly Republican Leader Carol Hallett was active last year in opposing the Brown Administration's efforts to write strict new regulations for agricultural pesticides. At the time, her husband, James, was executive director of the Western Agricultural Chemical Association, a pesticide industry trade association. He has since taken a federal government appointment from the Reagan Administration, a job change sought partly to quiet criticism of his wife. Another critic of the proposed pesticide rules was state Senator Jim Nielsen of Woodland, who is a former field representative of a pesticide firm and was still drawing a $10,000-a-year retainer from the firm.

The lawyer-legislators

A somewhat different aspect of the conflict-of-interest problem occupied considerable attention during this year's legislative session. That is the dilemma posed by lawmakers who are also attorneys in private practice and find themselves or members of their firms representing clients before state, regional or local government agencies. Because of the Legislature's enormous influence over the budgets for these agencies — particularly state administrative bodies — hearing officers and appeals board members complain that they are placed in a very delicate position when they find themselves ruling on a case in which one side is represented by a lawyer-legislator.

The controversy erupted when the *Los Angeles Times* reported that Democratic Assemblyman Larry Kapiloff of San Diego was accused of putting pressure on the state Coastal Commission on behalf of a client who wanted to develop an environmentally sensitive area. The *Times* also reported that Assembly Speaker Willie Brown is active in representing developers before regional and local planning bodies in San Francisco.

The disclosures prompted a study by the FPPC and resulted in the only significant legislative conflict-of-interest reform proposal to be introduced in more than 15 years.

The study turned up five present or former legislators who had represented paying clients in contested cases before state agencies alone. At the head of the list was Speaker Brown. He has represented clients with cases before the state Department of Motor Vehicles (DMV) and the San Francisco Bay Conservation and Development Commission. He once made an informal call to the DMV for a constituent who was a client on other matters. The commission also cited similar legal work by Kapiloff and by former Assemblymen Walter Karabian, John Knox and the late Ed Z'berg.

It also pointed out that two other legislators had done legal work involving purely ministerial functions, such as the filing of corporation papers. Two more have represented clients in contested cases before the state Workers' Compensation Appeals Board, which is specifically allowed by law.

The lawyer-legislator controversy resulted in the introduction of three bills to outlaw the practice. One, sponsored by the FPPC itself, was stopped cold by the growing irritation among lawmakers at the commission's increasingly aggressive stance in enforcing other provisions of the Political Reform Act. Its author, Manhattan Beach Republican Robert Beverly, drew laughs once when he described the measure, in an ironic slip of the tongue, as "rusting comfortably" in the Senate Elections and Reapportionment Committee.

A second bill was introduced by Kapiloff himself. In a dramatic move, he sought to tie the lawyer-legislator provision to a hefty salary increase for legislators. Kapiloff contended that any move which restricted the ability to earn outside income should not be separated from the issue of legislative compensation. His bill would have pegged legislative pay at that of Superior Court judges, which is now more than $62,000 a year and climbing. Lawmakers now make salaries of $28,110. Perquisites bring the total compensation closer to $50,000, but that is still well below what a good lawyer can make in private practice. Nevertheless, the implication that morality carries a price tag was too much for Kapiloff's colleagues to swallow.

The only lawyer-legislator reform given much chance of passage is SB 884, introduced by Democratic Senator Robert Presley of Riverside, a non-lawyer and the chair-

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man of the Joint Legislative Ethics Committee. The bill has twice been approved by the Senate Rules Committee, but in a measure of the currently hostile mood toward ethics reform, the full Senate has twice dispatched it back to the committee for more tinkering.

When it last reached the floor in July, the chief critic was another non-lawyer, conservative Republican Senator John Schmitz of Newport Beach, who is running for the U.S. Senate. Schmitz cited conservative author Ayn Rand's contention that "laws can become so complicated that tyranny arises by selective enforcement."

But in an interview later, Schmitz revealed that it wasn't so much the Presley bill itself that got his dander up: "What I'm really opposed to is the way you guys, meaning the press in general, keep harping on a 5 percent salary increase or the autos and all the other emoluments of office, and then you wonder why people have to work outside. If you want to preclude people from working outside, then they ought to get paid enough so they don't have to work outside."

Other lawmakers, including Democratic Senators Dan Boatwright of Concord and Rose Ann Vuich of Hanford, raised a fusillade of technical questions about its impact on their own professional and other business activities.

Presley, disappointed about the slowdown which turned the proposal into a two-year bill, says he believes it is a victim of "stalling tactics" spawned by the familiar nervousness at being asked to vote yes or no on a bill to tighten up the ethics code. He said he wanted to push the bill through this year to help combat what he feels is a growing public-image problem posed by the mounting press disclosures of questionable conduct. "The public needs to feel we're trying," he says.

The Legislature made one other attempt to polish its tarnished image this year, but the handling of the issue by leaders left some questions about their sincerity in the minds of many observers.

In mid-August, a minor bill by Assemblyman Richard Alatorre of Los Angeles quietly and rather mysteriously received some major amendments. What had been an innocuous bill sought by the FPPC to make technical changes in campaign contribution reports suddenly became something else entirely. It was transformed into a major proposal to weaken the political watchdog role of the FPPC in enforcing requirements on the discosure of campaign contributions and outside income. Another major provision would have barred the FPPC from prohibiting the personal use of money donated for political campaigns.

Pocketing political donations is not illegal now, as long as taxes are paid on it. However, there have been some blatant abuses in recent yars and the FPPC has repeatedly tried to persuade the Legislature to do something about it. It was no coincidence that the amendments popped up just days before the FPPC, which had by then given up on the Legislature, was scheduled to conduct a hearing in an effort to impose a ban on personal use with its own regulatory authority.

The story quickly hit the front page of *The Sacramento Bee*, and Alatorre sheepishly shelved the bill. But then Speaker Brown and other legislative leaders let the FPPC know that they would make one more effort to adopt a ban if the commission would back off from its own efforts. The commission agreed, and a bill was a passed by both houses in near-recod time.

The FPPC praised the Legislature for its action, but others were not so charitable. Republicans derisively characterized the bill as a "sham" and a "non-reform reform" so vaguely worded that it is unlikely to make much difference in the current free-wheeling use of campaign money. For example, many lawmakers refused to vote for the measure until they received repeated assurances that it would continue to allow virtually unrestricted use of campaign funds for travel by themselves and their spouses. One example of such travel is Goggin's use of more than $3,000 from his campaign fund to fly himself and his wife on what he said was a combination business-pleasure trip to Australia in 1979.

While the personal-use bill demonstrated that the Legislature can scramble when it feels enough pressure on a minor ethical issue, it has shown little motivation so far to face up to the conflict-of-interest problem.

That applies not only to the lack of enthusiasm for reform legislation, but also to the lack of aggressiveness by the only entity with any power to take action in the field, the Joint Legislative Ethics Committee.

Since it was created in 1966, the panel has agreed to consider only one complaint against a fellow legislator. Last year, it took up the case of former Republican state Senator John A. Nejedly of Walnut Creek after he was accused in the *Oakland Tribune* of using his official position to prevent mining activities near land he owns in Sierra County. Meeting behind closed doors, the committee decided to drop the complaint.

In at least three other cases, the committee has declined to consider disciplinary actions because the allegations did not appear to fall within the narrow definition of conflict of interest in the Code of Ethics or because there was no formal complaint. Both of these reasons were cited when the committee declined to investigate Goggin in the wake of the disclosures that his teletype legislation had helped a friend make $175,000 in stock fees from a teletype supplier. The chairman said there was no preliminary indication that Goggin benefited personally from the legislation, even though the supplier donated nearly $30,000 to a fund that boosted Goggin's political influence.

(Presley's bill on lawyer-legislators, incidentally, would provide the committee with some additional authority to investigate cases on its own, without waiting for a complaint.)

However, despite the mounting number of allegations about conflict of interest, the sentiment for broadening the definition of the term is virtually nil.

Presley himself is among those who are opposed to too many further restrictions on lawmakers' right to vote on issues in which they have financial interests. To do so, Presley and others argue, would be to disqualify too many legislators on too many issues. They contend that the expertise legislators bring with them from their outside occupa-

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tions is vital to the crafting of reasonable, effective legislation. Too many restrictions would leave too many bills for action only by those who know the least about them, the argument goes. "I think if you go too far, you can render the Legislature impotent," Presley says.

There are those, however, who disagree and who admit to some embarrassment at the increasingly freewheeling attitude of their colleagues. "The law is too weak," concedes Democratic Assemblyman Tom Hannigan of Fairfield, a member of the ethics committee. Hannigan, incidentally, refused to take up an important coastal bill in the final hours of the session because he objected to a last-minute amend-

ment inserted on the Senate side by Boatwright. Reviving a previously rejected proposal, Boatwright sought an exemption from coastal zone restrictions for land in Marina Del Rey on which developer A. M. Lurie had been trying in vain to get approval for two high-rise hotels.

The leadership factor

While lawmakers like Hannigan appear, on the surface, to be a dwindling minority, it is still a matter of some debate whether the Legislature is in fact more riddled with conflict of interest today than it was two, five or 10 years ago.

"I'm not sure you can conclude things have gotten worse," says Alan Miller of the consumer-oriented group, Common Cause, which helped write Proposition 9. Miller believes the growing number of exposés is due to a combination of factors: a more vigilant press that is learning how to use the disclosure requirements of Proposition 9, plus the new conservative climate which favors business-oriented, special-interest legislation.

There are others, however, who worry privately that the general level of ethical standards in the Legislature is on a significant decline. "I think it's going to get worse and worse," says one government lobbyist, who is appalled by many of the recent incidents. "In fact, I hope it does. I take the kind of fatalistic view that if it gets bad enough, there'll be a public backlash."

The pessimists agree with Miller that the press has been more vigilant and that the climate for special-interest legislation is more hospitable. But they also contend that leadership changes in both houses this year have contributed to the change. No one is accusing Assembly Speaker Willie Brown and the new Senate leadership team under President pro Tempore David Roberti of encouraging underhanded tactics. But Brown, for one, runs the house with a much looser rein than did his predecessor, Leo McCarthy. Many legislators have noted that, while McCarthy tended to involve himself heavily in legislative details, Brown's style is to leave individual members alone and to make them responsible for their own work product. Even more significant, however, is the contrasting attitudes of the two men toward the need for ethical rules and political watchdogs. Publicly at least, McCarthy maintained a relatively fastidious posture. He gave up a lucrative law practice when he went into politics, and he was known to call Assembly members on the carpet when he thought they were straying too far over the ethical line. By contrast, Brown makes no secret of his antipathy toward demands for new ethical reforms and toward the watchdog roles played by the FPPC and aggressive investigative reporters.

"There are those outside the political process who wrongly think that members of the Legislature are engaging in unethical conduct and then they hype that," he says. "That is a disservice to the public . . . I'm talking about officials of the FPPC and newspaper reporters."

Brown says he believes that most members of the Legislature are basically honest. Despite the growing number of controversies, he insists they do an effective job of policing themselves. "I don't know of any (new) rule that is needed to enhance the process," he says. "Any rule you pass is subject to selective enforcement."

All of this, according to the pessimists, combines to create an atmosphere which does little to discourage a lawmaker who may be tempted to slip in a bill that has more self-interest than public interest behind it.

While the harsher critics concede that the current growth in conflict-of-interest controversies began well before Brown's ascendancy — with last year's money-eating speakership battle as a possible factor — they still insist the climate is getting worse. "Leo never would have let them get away with all that stuff," says the government lobbyist. "There is a general feeling that you won't be chastised," one legislator adds privately. "Under Leo, there was always the fear that the iron hand would reach out and grab you."

The leadership change in the Senate appears to be less significant. The upper house has traditionally been the chief roadblock for ethical reform and the biggest hotbed of resentment toward the prodding of the FPPC and the media. There appears to be little change in those kinds of attitudes in the past year.

There is evidence that at least some legislators are concerned about their image problems. A post-session meeting of the Assembly leadership featured strong complaints about potential fallout from the "new cities" bill. Brown himself acknowledged that there are problems. "Unfortunately we didn't market that concept the way it should have been marketed," Brown told the *Los Angeles Times* later. "It passed, but it still created a bad image and a bad flavor." In the future, he said, he plans to be "far more attentive" to individual bills.

An additional factor is cited by some observers: the prevailing fear in both houses that next year's legislative elections are going to feature a battle on the order of Armageddon. Incumbents on both sides are laying plans to raise record amounts of cash, a situation which could create an even more hostile climate for ethical standards.

So, while Presley's lawyer-legislator bill may eventually pass and tighten up one loophole, the Legislature does not yet appear ready to take too many other steps in the direction of the high road.

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The Legislature's 'maybe' session

At first glance, it appears that the Legislature this year made an heroic effort to cope with California's current problems. It went to unprecedented lengths to crack down on crime. With a minimum of partisan infighting, it passed the first genuine Proposition 13 budget. It adopted three bills to reapportion the state's 165 legislative districts.

But did it do any of these things? The answer is maybe. Almost before the ink was dry on the new state budget, the Brown Administration was warning that the spending program was obsolete. A combination of factors — cutbacks in Washington, lower revenues than anticipated, expenses in the fight against the Medfly — had pushed the state to the financial wall. There was some speculation that a special session would be needed to draft a new budget. But what solutions could a Legislature find that Governor Brown could not impose by executive order? Brown ordered cuts to avoid a deficit and announced that he will not propose new taxes to make ends meet. He made that announcement only a few days after signing legislation that will increase the motor fuel tax two cents a gallon — but not until after the next election.

Who knows how long the reapportionment bills will stay alive? Republicans were attempting to challenge the Democratic-sponsored plans by referendum, and the inevitable court challenges were in the offing. If the plans are blocked, a special session would be inevitable for round two of the reapportionment wars of the 1980 census.

The Legislature went wild passing bills that would send more Californians to jail for longer periods for more offenses. The only trouble is that the state does not have the jail and prison capacity to handle the expected flood. Even if funds are voted by the electorate for more cell capacity, it could be a case of too little too late. And there is no guarantee that the crime package will have the desired effect of reducing the crime rate significantly.

In a session that saw a furious finale, probably the biggest lobbying battle came over a measure that would have allowed developers to build five "new cities" without regard to most local land-use laws. The measure was sponsored by Beverly Hills developer Nathan Shapell, a generous contributor to Democratic campaigns and head of the "Little Hoover" Commission. Local government applied tremendous pressure on Brown to veto the bill, authored by Assembly Majority Leader Mike Roos of Los Angeles. Brown undoubtedly was torn between political friend Shapell and potential problems in his race for the U.S. Senate. He opted for his public image and vetoed the bill. The measure undoubtedly will be back next year — like almost every other major subject of the maybe session.

VOTING RECORDS

Listed here are the votes of legislators on recent major roll calls through the end of session. Votes selected involve issues of major importance and issues on which there was a major division of opinion, or both.

Y — Yes **N — No**
***— Absent or not voting**

A 2/3 vote is required for urgency measures, constitutional amendments, and appropriations.

Assembly: 41 votes required for passage of bills needing a simple majority. (2/3 = 54 votes)

Senate: 21 votes required for passage of bills needing a simple majority. (2/3 = 27 votes)

SENATE (23D, 17R)	SB 99	AB 301	AB 277	AB 1161	AB 1866	AB 1693	AB 2185	AB 893	SB 215	AB 600
Alquist (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ayala (D)	Y	Y	Y	*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Beverly (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	*	N	N	N	Y	Y
Boatwright (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	*	Y
Briggs (R)	*	N	N	*	*	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Campbell (R)	N	N	Y	N	*	*	N	Y	*	Y
Carpenter (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Craven (R)	Y	N	Y	*	*	N	N	*	Y	Y
Davis (R)	*	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Dills (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Doolittle (R)	N	N	Y	N	*	N	N	Y	*	N
Ellis (R)	N	N	N	N	*	N	*	Y	Y	Y
Foran (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	*	Y
Garamendi (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	*	Y	Y
Garcia, A. (D)	Y	Y	*	*	N	Y	Y	Y	*	*
Garcia, M. (R)	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
Greene (D)	Y	Y	*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	*	*
Holmdahl (D)	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Johnson (R)	N	*	Y	*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Keene (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	*	Y	Y
Maddy (R)	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Marks (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	*	Y	N	Y	*	Y
Mello (D)	Y	Y	*	Y	N	Y	N	N	*	Y
Mills (D)	Y	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Montoya (D)	Y	*	*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Nielsen (R)	N	N	Y	N	*	N	N	Y	Y	Y
O'Keefe (R)	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Petris (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Presley (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Rains (D)	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Richardson (R)	N	*	N	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Robbins (D)	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Roberti (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	*	Y
Russell (R)	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Schmitz (R)	*	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Sieroty (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Speraw (R)	N	N	*	N	*	*	*	Y	Y	Y
Stiern (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	*	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Vuich (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	*	Y	Y
Watson (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

SENATE

ELECTIONS AND REAPPORTIONMENT

SB 99 (Boatwright) — Reapportions state Senate districts. Passed, 26-11.

AB 301 (Alatorre) — Reapportions congressional districts. Conference committee report adopted, 21-15.

JUSTICE

AB 277 (Goggin) — Requires that almost all preliminary court hearings be open to the public. Passed, 21-12.

AB 1161 (Moore) — Establishes guidelines for the granting of probation. Passed, 23-10.

AB 1866 (Cramer) — Gives district attorneys power to subpoena financial records for investigative purposes. Defeated, 8-18.

MISCELLANEOUS

AB 1693 (Tucker) — Authorizes agency-shop agreements in the public sector. Passed, 21-16.

AB 2185 (Vasconcellos) — Establishes guidelines for the administration of federal welfare funds. Passed, 21-16.

AB 893 (Roos) — Authorizes creation of "new towns" exempt from most planning regulations. Passed, 23-15.

SB 215 (Foran) — Increases motor vehicle fuel taxes two cents a gallon and raises other vehicle fees. Passed, 30-3.

AB 600 (Hughes) — Names all 19 campuses in the state-college system "California State University." Passed, 22-10.

ASSEMBLY

ENVIRONMENT

AB 2000 (Sher) — Makes violators of smog-control regulations liable for penalties up to $1,000 per day. Passed, 45-31.

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AB 2074 (Robinson) — Expands the ability of local governments to cancel Williamson Act land-conservation contracts. Passed, 49-9.

HOUSING

AB 893 (Roos) — Authorizes creation of "new towns" exempt from most planning regulations. Passed, 41-29.

AB 1748 (Harris) — Increases penalties that can be assessed against anyone found guilty of discrimination in the rental of housing. Passed, 44-22.

JUSTICE

AB 189 (Cortese) — Authorizes counties to increase fines for parking violations and some criminal offenses, to obtain funds for jail construction. Passed, 47-12.

SB 113 (Doolittle) — Increases prison terms significantly for repeat offenders. Motion to withdraw bill from Criminal Justice Committee defeated, 29-20 (41 votes required).

TAXATION

AB 934 (Kapiloff) — Authorizes fire districts to levy special assessments. Passed, 48-24.

SB 215 (Foran) — Increases motor vehicle fuel taxes two cents a gallon and raises other vehicle fees. Passed, 59-18.

MISCELLANEOUS

AB 301 (Alatorre) — Reapportions the state's congressional districts. Conference report adopted, 44-29.

SB 620 (Nielsen) — Requires the Franchise Tax Board to provide data on welfare recipients that can be used to detect fraud. Passed, 50-11.

SB 963 (Nielsen) — Reduces state budget allocation for the University of California if tuition is imposed. Passed, 51-19.

AB 1693 (Tucker) — Authorizes agency-shop agreements in the public sector. Passed, 43-32.

ASSEMBLY (49D, 31R)	AB 2000	AB 2074	AB 893	AB 1748	AB 189	SB 113	AB 934	SB 215	AB 301	SB 620	SB 963	AB 1693
Agnos (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Alatorre (D)	Y	*	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y
Baker (R)	N	Y	N	N	*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Bane (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*	N	Y	Y	*	Y
Bates (D)	Y	N	N	Y	N	*	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y
Bergeson (R)	N	N	*	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Berman (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Bosco (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Brown, D (R)	N	Y	*	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Brown, W. (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y
Campbell (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Chacon (D)	N	Y	Y	*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cortese (D)	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	*	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y
Costa (D)	Y	*	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cramer (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Deddeh (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Duffy (R)	*	N	*	Y	*	Y	*	Y	N	Y	N	N
Elder (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Farr (D)	Y	N	N	Y	*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Felando (R)	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Filante (R)	N	Y	*	*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Floyd (D)	Y	*	Y	Y	*	N	Y	*	Y	N	N	Y
Frazee (R)	N	Y	*	N	*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Frizzelle (R)	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	*	N	Y	*	N	N
Goggin (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Greene (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y
Hallett (R)	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	*	Y	N
Hannigan (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Harris (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	*	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	N
Hart (D)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Herger (R)	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Hughes (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Imbrecht (R)	Y	*	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Ingalls (D)	Y	N	Y	*	*	*	*	Y	Y	*	Y	Y
Ivers (R)	N	N	N	*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Johnson (R)	*	*	*	*	*	Y	*	N	N	*	N	N
Johnston (D)	Y	N	N	Y	*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Kapiloff (D)	Y	*	Y	Y	N	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Katz (D)	Y	Y	*	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kelley (R)	N	Y	*	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
Konnyu (R)	N	*	Y	N	Y	Y	*	Y	N	Y	N	Y
LaFollette (R)	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Lancaster (R)	*	*	*	N	*	Y	*	Y	N	*	Y	N
Lehman (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Leonard (R)	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Levine (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lewis (R)	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Lockyer (D)	Y	N	*	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Marguth (R)	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Martinez (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
McAlister (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	*	N	Y	*	Y	Y	N
McCarthy (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Moore (D)	Y	*	Y	*	*	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Moorhead (D)	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mountjoy (R)	N	N	N	*	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Naylor (R)	N	Y	N	*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Nolan (R)	N	Y	*	N	*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Papan (D)	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	*	Y	Y	*	*	N	Y
Robinson (D)	*	*	*	*	Y	*	Y	*	Y	N	Y	*
Rogers (R)	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Roos (D)	Y	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y
Rosenthal (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Ryan (R)	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Sebastiani (R)	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Sher (D)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Statham (R)	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Stirling, D. (R)	N	*	N	*	Y	*	Y	Y	*	*	*	N
Stirling, L. (R)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
Tanner (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Thurman (D)	N	N	N	Y	*	Y	Y	*	Y	*	Y	Y
Torres (D)	Y	Y	Y	*	*	*	Y	*	*	Y	Y	Y
Tucker (D)	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	N	Y	*	Y	Y	N	Y
Vasconcellos (D)	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	N	*	Y	*	Y	Y	Y
Vicencia (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y
Waters, M. (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Waters, N. (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	*	N	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y
Wray (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Wright (R)	N	Y	N	N	*	N	N	*	*	N	N	N
Wyman (R)	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
Young (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y

Newsmakers

Leo for lieutenant

Former Assembly Speaker **Leo T. McCarthy** of San Francisco ended months of speculation by announcing that he would seek the Democratic nomination for lieutenant governor and not run against Governor Jerry Brown in the United States Senate primary . . . State Senator **Paul Carpenter** promptly joined Fresno Mayor **Daniel Whitehurst** in the campaign against Brown . . . Others throwing hats in the ring: Republican Congressman **Robert K. Dornan** for the United States Senate: GOP Assemblyman **Dave Stirling** for attorney general; Republican state Senator **Marz Garcia** for lieutenant governor; GOP Assemblyman **Gordon Duffy** for secretary of state.

Gray Davis resigned as Brown's chief of staff to seek an Assembly seat in Los Angeles. He was replaced by the outspoken head of the California Conservation Corps, Republican **B. T. Collins** . . . Earlier, **Carlotta Mellon** resigned as Brown's appointments secretary to take a position with Pacific Telephone Company in San Francisco. Her successor is **Rita Saenz,** former director of the state Department of Alcohol and Drug Abuse . . . The state Bar and Los Angeles County District Attorney John Van de Kamp both cleared members of Governor Brown's staff of any wrongdoing in the so-called Computergate affair. **Byron Georgiou** and **Maurice Jourdane,** attorneys in the governor's office, had been under investigation at the instigation of the state Fair Political Practices Commission.

Dead at 62: **Donald L. Bradley,** long-time manager of Democratic campaigns, including the three gubernatorial runs of Edmund G. (Pat) Brown . . . Municipal Judge **Lewis A. Wenzell** of San Diego was convicted of five misdemeanor counts of soliciting prostitution.

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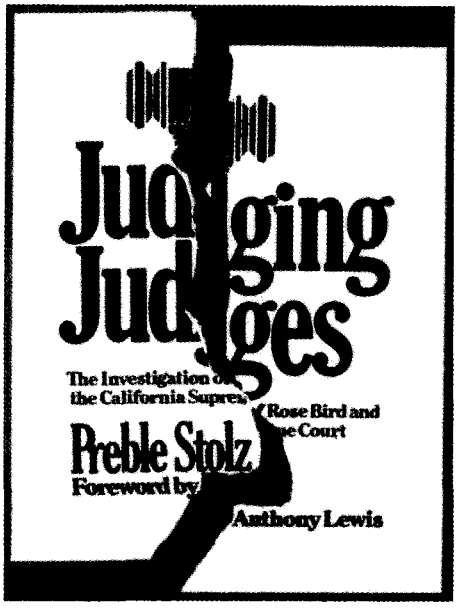
Judging the judge of judges


Judging Judges
The Investigation of Rose Bird and the California Supreme Court
Preble Stolz
Foreword by Anthony Lewis

Have you ever purchased a book containing a foreword warning that most of what you are about to read is poppycock? Californians will soon have that unique opportunity.

Judging Judges, a 436-page analysis of the investigation of Chief Justice Rose Bird and the state Supreme Court, will be published this month by The Free Press (Macmillan). The retail price is a stiff $19.95. The author is Preble Stolz, a professor of law at the University of California and a one-time aide to Governor Jerry Brown. The bulk of the book is a recitation of the investigation of the court by the state Commission on Judicial Performance. That investigation followed the election-day publication of an article in the *Los Angeles Times* suggesting that a decision in the *Tanner* use-a-gun, go-to-prison case had been delayed for political purposes.

Stolz, often quoted by reporters as an observer of the court, comes down hard on Bird and her defender, Justice Mathew Tobriner. He views Bird as an incompentent administrator and as a possessor of personality defects that contributed to the court's crisis. He says her near-defeat at the polls in 1978 "reflected broad public distrust of the court as an institution — the result of a long history that had relatively little to do with Bird." His main theme emerges in this comment about the chief justice's testimony before the commission:

"It also became increasingly obvious that neither she nor anyone else had delayed the release of *Tanner* for the purpose of improving her chances in the election. To put it another way, Bird showed herself temperamentally ill-suited to be chief justice but, equally clearly, innocent of deliberate delay. . ." The book, written in the excruciating detail of the legal and academic worlds, contains quotes galore that might be used by those attempting to remove Bird from the court. (Another Berkeley writer, Betty Medsger, has just completed the manuscript of a book covering the same ground but making the *Los Angeles Times*, rather than Bird, the villain.)

What makes the Stolz book especially fascinating is not the attack on Bird or the analysis of the court, but rather the frontal foray on the book by the author of the foreword, Anthony Lewis of the *New York Times*. In 12 pages of journalistic prose, Lewis makes as convincing a case for Bird and against the *Times* as Stolz does in 424 more pages. Lewis' targets are the prime Bird critics, including Justice Stanley Mosk and former Justice William P. Clark Jr., the current undersecretary of state.

Lewis on the *Times:* "How can one explain what was done here by reporters and editors of one of the country's best newspapers? My guess is that they were carried away by the lure of an exciting scoop — moreover, one whose significance would fade if they did not rush the story into print the next morning. Just about every journalist knows that feeling of temptation. I have yielded to it myself, and later regretted what turned out to be a half-understood or inaccurate story. It is an explanation, not an excuse."

He calls one of Clark's actions "despicable" and says this about Mosk: "The judicial sin that I think was the gravest in the whole long story does not move Professor Stolz at all. That was the action of Justice Mosk in changing his position after the first decision in *Tanner*, thus switching the court's decision on rehearing, and never offering a word of explanation. Judges, like other people, are entitled to change their minds — even, in very rare instances, after they have formally announced their views. But to do so without explanation is an insult to the judicial process. To do so in the highly charged circumstances of the *Tanner* case was to make that process seem a political mockery. Justice Mosk's performance was inexcusable."

Here, then, a single book presents both sides of the controversy. There are some agreements, however. Lewis, for example, does not defend Bird's ability as an administrator. Nevertheless, the foreword is tantamount to a rebuttal.

Why did Stolz and the publisher agree to print such a damning piece? It is possible but unlikely that the publisher, in fairness, wanted to present both sides of the story.

Much more likely: Both Stolz and Macmillan recognized that the presence of Lewis' name on the cover would help sell books.

E.S.

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Perspective from
WASHINGTON
By Leo Rennert

Reagan: Act two

The shadows are lengthening over the Reagan Administration. Champagne corks no longer pop at the White House after historic triumphs on Capitol Hill. The mood is more subdued and worrisome. The Reagan high command now exhausts its energies on nasty skirmishes and marginal fights that solve few problems but alienate key constituencies. Internal power struggles continue unabated; they're less noticed because they're better camouflaged. They've also become a bore. Somehow, the world will survive — whether Alexander Haig is on top or not.

THE EARLY NOTICES on Reagan's economic performance are negative. The administration is backing and filling on high interest rates, which are sabotaging its timetable for economic recovery. It is feuding with supposed friends on Wall Street. Abroad, it is tripling grain sales to the Soviet Union and fanning pacifist sentiment in Western Europe with the decision to scale back budget hikes for defense and to scrap plans to deploy the mobile MX missile in Utah and Nevada. Something clearly is out of whack when Reagan's nuclear strategy is denounced by the hawkish chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, John Tower of Texas, and praised by an anti-Pentagon dove like Berkeley Democrat Ron Dellums.

The admirals and generals are not ecstatic about the prospect that the Reagan military budget, after all the rhetoric about re-arming America, will provide just about as many dollars as Jimmy Carter's. On Capitol Hill, Republican ranks, which once held firm, are cracking. In the country, conservatives are grumbling that their support of Reagan has netted few dividends. The social agenda of the Moral Majority sits on the back burner. Sandra O'Connor, with a pro-abortion voting record in the Arizona Legislature, sits on the Supreme Court.

Yet, amid all the external buffeting and internal trepidation, the man at the top remains imperturbably serene. The ground around him may shake but Ronald Reagan is steadfast, blessed with a cockeyed optimism and a sure faith that he's on a straight course — even when he zigs and zags. It's a talent easy to belittle but, so far, it beats Carter's malaise.

The Reagan honeymoon didn't fade away gradually. It ended abruptly — in August, just before Labor Day. Pundits and politicians alike were surprised by the suddenness and dimension of the change. The president was vacationing at the ranch, basking in the afterglow of his resounding success in winning congressional approval for his big tax and spending cuts. Supply-side economics, the new cure for recession and inflation, appeared on its way. The Reagan revolution was on the march. Never, in recent memory, did an administration get off to such a brilliant start. Democrats in Congress were writing their own 1982 obituaries.

Then, without much warning, the skies turned dark. Reagan economics laid an egg with the Federal Reserve Board and Wall Street — those citadels of old-fashioned conservative economic theory with their unbending emphasis on balanced budgets. The financial world was skeptical about Reagan's supply-side faith that deep tax cuts would produce more revenue by generating unprecedented growth in the private sector. "Voodoo economics," as George Bush dubbed it during the 1980 primaries, played well in Washington -- but not on the road. The prospect of large deficits, as the Reagan tax cut takes effect, and the pressure of government borrowing on credit markets kept interest rates high. In turn, budget "savings" in social programs were blunted by higher government spending on debt service. Housing and other capital-intensive industries took a sharp downturn. When Congress returned after Labor Day, there was near-panic among Republicans. GOP leaders bluntly told the White House interest rates had to come down quickly or the party could kiss goodbye to its hopes in the 1982 elections. More recently, interest rates have begun to moderate — but only because recession clouds are gathering. The president's hopes for an era of declining inflation and steady economic growth seem to be ebbing away. His hurriedly patched-up plan for a new round of budget cuts found few adherents in Congress — on either side of the aisle.

Perhaps the most startling aspect of the wilting of Reagan's magic is how quickly Republicans began to peel off. Gone are the pre-August days of firm White House control of GOP congressional ranks. Republicans who professed total loyalty in the spring have become fair-weather friends in the fall. GOP lawmakers from the Northeast and Midwest are in open rebellion against the new wave of budget cuts. Party leaders are taking a more independent stance and demanding a bigger voice in Reagan policy decisions. The White House is scrambling to avoid major collisions with its own troops on Capitol Hill. It's a scene reminiscent of Carter's inability to line up firm support among congressional Democrats — and it may have common political roots. Reagan and Carter had to bowl over the traditional establishments in their parties as they clawed their way to the top. They succeeded essentially as outsiders. Many insiders, who got crushed along the way, still feel bruised and are not inclined to walk the extra mile when the going gets heavy. Although Reagan has wooed and cultivated Congress far more than Carter ever did, there is little evidence that he has reaped enduring, come-what-may loyalty. The White House keeps pushing back the timetable for solid economic results; prosperity may have to be deferred until 1983 or 1984. That doesn't satisfy congressional Republicans who have to run in 1982.

FORTUNATELY FOR REAGAN, the Democratic opposition continues to pose no serious challenge. Aside from some shrill criticism against obvious targets of opportunity — cuts in Social Security benefits, high interest rates, James Watt — Democrats are still in shock from the 1980 debacle and bereft of ideological bearings. Traditional Democratic constituencies — blacks, labor, environmentalists — are staging anti-Reagan demonstrations not so much to vent their spleen against the White House but in hopes of putting some backbone into wishy-washy Democratic officeholders. Democrats are stumbling behind — not leading — grassroots disenchantment with Reagan policies.

If present trends continue, the Reagan presidency may lapse into the Eisenhower model — a highly popular chief executive presiding over an administration and a party that somehow can't rise to his level of personal success. The final score, however, isn't in. The Reaganauts have performed superbly in the early sprints. Now, they have to show whether they can hack it as long-distance runners.

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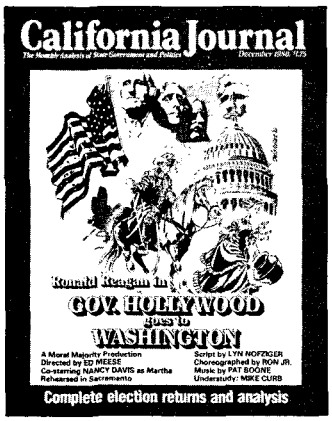

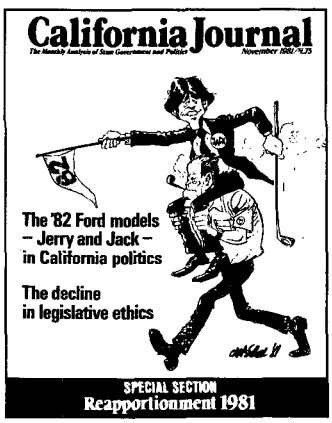

ANOTHER SUGGESTION

Books from the California Journal Press also make wonderful holiday gifts. Look at the listing inside this magazine for book bargains galore.

He who rules must humor fully as much as he commands.
— George Eliot

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